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ABSTRACT

To provide a forum for discussing mutual concerns shared by legislators and educators and more specifically to promote a better understanding and clearer communications between the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education (WICHE) and state legislators was the purpose of the 1975 Legislative Work Conference attended by 180 western legislators, educators, and government officials. This document contains presentations made at the Conference: the keynote address "Higher Education Issues and the Legislative Process" by Donald R. McNeil; "The Legislative Council of the Southern Regional Education Board: How It Works" by Senator W. E. (Pete) Snelson; "Dollar, Dollar, Who Gets the Dollar?: Making Decisions in a Time of Fiscal Stringency" by Frank M. Bowen; "Demands Across the Table: Trends, Effects, and Issues in Collective Bargaining in Higher Education" by George W. Angell; "The Buck Stops Where?: State Responsibility for Postsecondary Education" by Elizabeth H. Johnson; "How the West Was One: Alternative Means of Providing Access to Postsecondary Education" by Virginia W. Patterson; "I Came Back: Lifelong Learning" by Martha E. Church; "The Unbudget: State Support for Postsecondary Education in Times of Financial Stringency" by George B. Weathersby; "Today, Tomorrow, and the Day After: Higher Education in the 1980s" by Malcolm Moos; "Ivory Tower Dues: Institutional Responsibility to the State, William E. Davis; and "Legislation and the Campus: The Relationship of the Political Process to Postsecondary Education--A Plea for Restraint" by Lee R. Kerchner. (JT)

WICHE is a public agency through which the people of the West work together across state lines to expand and improve education beyond the high school.

HISTORY:

- was created to administer the Western Regional Education Compact, which has been adopted by the legislatures of 13 western states.
- was formally established in 1951, after ratification of the Compact by five state legislatures; program activities began in 1953.

ORGANIZATION:

- is composed of 39 Commissioners, four from each state, appointed by their governors; they serve without pay.
- is served by a small professional staff, supplemented by consultants, contracts, and cooperators.

PURPOSES:

- seeks to increase educational opportunities for western youth.
- directs colleges and universities to improve their educational programs and thus to increase their efficiency.
- aids in expanding the supply of specialized manpower in the West.
- helps colleges and universities respond more effectively to changing educational and social needs of the West.
- informs the public about the needs of higher education.

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WESTERN INTERSTATE COMMISSION FOR HIGHER EDUCATION NINTH BIENNIAL LEGISLATIVE WORK CONFERENCE ON HIGHER EDUCATION

ON TARGET: Key Issues of Region, State, and Campus

Proceedings of the
Legislative Work Conference on Higher Education

Edited by
Mary Jo Lavin

Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education
an equal opportunity employer

P.O. Drawer P, Boulder, Colorado 80302

March 1976

Foreword

Warm days and hot topics greeted the 180 western legislators, educators, and government officials attending WICHE's Ninth Biennial Legislative Work Conference this past December in Phoenix, Arizona. The three-part conference theme was On Target: Key Issues of Region, State, and Campus.

Region: Legislators took a hard look at the West's regional education organization, that is to say, at WICHE itself. All were interested, and many were clearly astounded to discover WICHE's size and variety of programs. While they found that WICHE is still the Student Exchange Programs, it is also much more: some 51 programs, in fact, with a budget just topping $8 million.

State: The participants explored some of the problems that legislators must face when trying to cope with educational issues. Topics included collective bargaining, allocating resources to higher education, and state responsibilities to educational institutions.

Campus: In this part of the conference, the participants looked at some other educational issues from the educators' point of view. Topics included lifelong learning, some options in the face of waning financial support for institutions, institutions' responsibility to the state, and a look at what higher education might be like ten years from now.

At both the beginning and the end of the conference, speakers focused on the reason for gathering: an examination of the relationship between higher education and state legislatures. The talks were provocative. Speakers left some of the audience grumbling and some nodding their heads in quiet affirmation.

In many respects, the goals of this conference were accomplished. The goals did *not* include providing answers to the many tough education questions or even to make legislators and educators love each other. Instead, the goals were realistically designed to shed some light on relevant issues and to help those from campus and statehouse know and understand each other a little better. This was accomplished.

In some cases, lawmakers and educators learned they were in agreement all along. In other cases, they better defined their differences. Either way, our hope is that their working relationship will be better for it, and that communications will be clearer.

This publication has been distributed to all legislators and to all college and university presidents in the West. If its purpose is served, it will extend some of the insights that were revealed at the conference to those who could not attend.

Robert H. Kroepsch
Executive Director
WICHE

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Conference Overview

The 1975 Legislative Work Conference, ON TARGET: Key Issues of Region, State, and Campus, continued an 18-year biennial tradition at WICHE, while marking a departure in theme and format from previous Conference programs. As in the past, the purpose of the Conference was to provide a forum for discussing mutual concerns shared by legislators and educators. A goal specific to this year's Conference was to promote a better understanding and clearer communications between WICHE and state legislators relative to WICHE programs. Because legislative concerns in 1975 were not limited to a single topic, the Conference was not restricted to a single theme. Instead, the tricolors of the Bicentennial served to identify the threefold theme and program that focused on WICHE, on educational issues being considered by state legislatures, and on legislative concerns that would impact on the campus.

This year, legislators were involved from the initial planning states as the Ad Hoc Advisory Committee. Legislative representatives from Arizona, California, Montana, Oregon, Utah, and Wyoming met with staff to determine the general format and discussion topics of the 1975 Legislative Work Conference. An additional outcome of the meeting was the recommendation to establish a new body, the Legislative Review Committee, to conduct the session on WICHE. The Legislative Review Committee would consist of a senator and representative from each of the 13 western states recommended by the head of their respective legislative houses.

The Legislative Review Committee, chaired by Representative Anne Lindeman of Arizona, met in special session on Sunday, 7 December, to review WICHE's purposes, programs, and budgets in preparation for the discussion of WICHE scheduled for the following day. Committee members, representing each of the 13 western states, discussed the broad issues of state autonomy versus regional cooperation and WICHE's objectives and goals as defined in its Compact and Bylaws. Senator Karl Swan of Utah and Representative Jack Sidi of Wyoming were designated as reporters to summarize the committee opinion on these issues at Monday's session, FOCUS ON WICHE. The Conference opened officially with a dinner meeting. Representative Lenton Malry, New Mexico, the chairman of WICHE, welcomed his fellow western legislators to the Conference, and Governor Raul Castro welcomed the participants to the state of Arizona. Robert H. Kroepsch, executive director of WICHE, explained the threefold focus of the program in a Conference overview. If a keynote speech establishes the tone of the meeting, then the address on higher education issues and the legislative process by Donald McNeil, executive director of the California Postsecondary Education Commission, promised a provocative conference. Dr. McNeil reproached the legislators for sometimes meddling in academic affairs, a charge to which the legislators were to respond many times during the next two days.

Monday morning was devoted to a FOCUS ON WICHE, a plenary session to discuss WICHE and its programs, chaired by Anne Lindeman for the Legislative Review Committee. In addition to Senator Swan and Representative Sidi, Senator Chet Blaylock of Montana and Senator Mary Roberts of Oregon served as observers to summarize the floor discussion of the principal topics. As a solution to the problem of improving communication between WICHE and state legislators, the committee proposed the appointment of an actively serving legislator as one of the three Commissioners designated by the governor of each of the 13 western states. The legislators present, voting by state, approved the motion. Thus, for the first time in WICHE history, the Legislative Work Conference produced a recommendation for consideration by the Commissioners as an amendment to the Compact.

Chairman Malry presided at the third session luncheon meeting at which Senator W. E. Snelson from Midland, Texas, a member of the Legislative

Council of the Southern Regional Education Board explained how this council facilitates improved relations between legislators and WICHE's southern counterpart.

FOCUS ON THE LEGISLATURE was the theme for concurrent sessions. Speakers addressed legislative issues resulting from the need to conserve state resources in a time of fiscal stringency. Conference participants could choose to learn about current state processes in allocating resources to higher education from Frank Bowen, research analyst at the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education in Berkeley, California, or hear George W. Angell, director of the Academic Collective Bargaining Information Services, explain the trends, effects, and issues of collective bargaining. Following a brief break, participants were offered new choices by Elizabeth Johnson, member of the Commission for the Oregon Educational Coordinating Commission and director of the Association of Governing Boards of Colleges and Universities, and Virginia Patterson, director of WICHE Student Exchange Programs. Mrs. Johnson addressed the state's responsibility for postsecondary education, while Mrs. Patterson explained some alternate means of providing access to postsecondary education that are available in the West.

Tuesday morning's FOCUS ON THE CAMPUS session consisted of concurrent sessions explaining the details of lifelong learning by Martha Church, president of Hood College, and presenting alternatives to diminishing support by George Weathersby, associate professor of the Graduate School of Education, Harvard University. Later, a look into the future of higher education as it might exist in the 1980s was provided by Malcolm Moos, an educational consultant and former president of the University of Minnesota. William (Bud) Davis, president of the University of New Mexico, offered a concurrent consideration of an institution's responsibility to the state. WICHE Commissioner and the Commissioner of Higher Education of the Montana University System, Lawrence K. Pettit, introduced the luncheon speaker, Lee Kerschner, who is the assistant executive vice-chancellor of the California State University and Colleges. Mr. Kerschner concluded the 1975 Conference with a look at the relationship of the political process to postsecondary education.

In his evaluation of the Conference, one of the participants noted that the sessions had provided him with "enough thought to last the winter." What the Conference provided for WICHE was an increased awareness of the need to improve the relationship between the organization and western legislators who represent the states that WICHE serves. The purpose of the 1975 Legislative Work Conference was to provide a forum for discussing mutual concerns shared by legislators and educators. Judging from the animated and sometimes heated discussions that marked the sessions of this year's Conference, the regional and state issues of the legislature and campus were assuredly — on target.

Mary Jo Lavir.
Coordinator of Planning
WICHE

Ad Hoc Advisory Committee

Arizona	Representative Anne Lindeman	Oregon	Representative Philip Lang
California	Dr. James Jensen	Utah	Senator Karl Swan
Montana	Senator Chet Blaylock	Wyoming	Senator William G. Rector

Legislative Review Committee

Alaska	Senator Edward C. Willis Representative Susan Sullivan	Hawaii	Senator Henry Takitani Representative Akira Sakima	Oregon	Senator Edward Fadeley Representative Vera Katz
Arizona	Senator Stephen Davis Representative Anne Lindeman, *Chairwoman*	Idaho	Senator Robert Saxvik Representative Kurt L. Johnson	Utah	Senator Karl Swan Representative Charles E. Bennett
California	Senator Jerry A. Smith Assemblywoman Leona H. Egeland	Montana	Senator W. Gordon McOmber Representative Peter Gilligan, Jr.	Washington	Senator Gary M. Odegaard Representative Peggy Joan Maxie
Colorado	Senator Tilman Bishop Representative Don Brinton	Nevada	Senator Richard Bryan Assemblyman R. E. Robinson	Wyoming	Senator Malcolm Wallop Representative Jack Sidi
		New Mexico	Senator C. B. Trujillo Representative Samuel F. Vigil		

Higher Education Issues and the Legislative Process

Greetings: Gov. Raul Castro, Arizona

Dr. Donald R. McNeil
Director, California Postsecondary Education Commission

Presider: Rep. Malry, New Mexico

Ten short years ago I would have communicated to you my concern about escalating enrollments, the monies needed to care for millions of new students, the need for new varieties of programs, new methods of teaching, new buildings, new computers, new campuses, even whole new higher education systems. I would have mentioned our changing life styles and attitudes, how we should handle the more strident demands for student participation in governance, and how we should deal with sit-ins, coed dorms, ethnic minorities, demonstrations, and drugs. I might have raised the philosophical question of whether our universities and colleges were to point the way to change, or to be the changemakers themselves. Were we to be cool observers, detached researchers, or impassioned advocates of a changing society? How far away many of those issues seem today!

Higher Education Issues

The educational issues that confront us now are not nearly so dramatic as those of the 1960s. Today's issues seldom garner front-page headlines or dominate the evening news. They do not mobilize thousands of antagonists, shut down the schools, or flood the legislators' mail with outraged cries for action. No, the crises have subsided.

Even though the issues today are not as dramatic, the implications are just as serious, the dangers just as real. They are much more complex issues, with great gray areas of subtleties. The issues are not as black and white as they were in the 1960s. Nevertheless, I believe these issues can be equally dangerous to the future of higher education, for they represent potential sources of basic misunderstanding and conflict that could cause irreparable harm to our colleges and universities.

Not only have the issues changed, but also the context within which we must deal with them has changed. Ours is now an economy of scarcity, not affluence; and limited growth, unthinkable ten years ago, is now a fact of life for educators. Jobs that went begging are now being begged for; students are looking not so much outward to society as inward to themselves; overcrowded classrooms may soon become unfilled classrooms; accountability is in; and vague philosophical justifications of higher education are out.

Many of the primary issues facing us for the rest of the 1970s and into the 1980s are logical results of some of the excesses of the last decade. The pendulum has swung away from the activist-oriented, free-swinging, expanding academic environment. The emphasis now seems to be more on consolidation of gains than on adventurous new experiments. And the tone is more pragmatic than dramatic; after all, when the rhetoric is set aside, do not many of the issues really boil down to a series of questions and their resolution to a matter of providing answers?

Accountability

The first of these issues revolves around the quest for sound, comparable data. Everyone is now turning

to "information systems." For higher education this has become the era of "accountability." We are asked to justify and rejustify our yearly requests for new programs, facilities, research projects, staff, and money. And more and more, we are turning to "hard" data to find "hard" answers to these "hard" questions. I have no quarrel with legislators who are asking these questions; we educators should have the answers. I have no quarrel with information systems — they will help us to obtain these answers.

Perhaps what concerns me about this issue is the potential "master/slave" relationship. If we are the masters of our information systems, they can do marvelous and wonderful things for us: provide us with an excellent management tool to promote beneficial self-analysis; enable us to respond to the demand for "accountability" from those to whom we go for money; and enhance our credibility with the public by enabling us to better explain our programs and accomplishments. If we become "slaves" to our information systems, however, they can sap our vitality, destroy our true purpose: cost could become the sole basis for decisions of academic policy; a sterile centralization and standardization would be inevitable; "good" education could well become "efficient" education; and another layer of cost and another level of bureaucracy would be added to an already overburdened structure.

I would simply ask that neither legislators nor educators seek salvation in statistics alone. I hold no brief for so-called "academic inefficiency," but I do plead the case for quality and a philosophic commitment to our educational tasks. Often these tasks cannot be measured by the computer; learning cannot be quantified. I hope you will find some understanding of the true return on the learning investment. The product of the mind is difficult to place on a balance sheet.

State Support of Private Higher Education

The second issue that concerns me is that of state support of private higher education. (Rather, I should say "direct" state support, since we are providing substantial indirect support through student-aid programs, both at the federal and state levels.) Leaving aside the constitutional barriers — which may be insurmountable in some states — I would remind you that with state money inevitably there is state control. Are private colleges and universities willing to pay the price? And, if so, just how high a price? We frequently point to the private institutions as an invaluable source of diversity and innovation; will state support foster these qualities or will it discourage them? Should a state support all private institutions equally, or should the smaller and weaker members of the group be cast afloat to "sink or swim"? And finally, do private colleges and universities truly need state support on a long-term, permanent basis? If so, is it to be justified on the basis of need, enrollments, and efficiency — or what?

I regard private institutions as a valuable state and national resource. Are there ways to aid those institutions that can perform state-held objectives (vocational education, for example) and still allow them their autonomy? For example, could contracts be set up that would let private institutions take on public assignments without interference by the state? I hope so. Society will be stronger for it if the capacity of these private institutions is added to the total educational resource base of the state.

Adult Education

The third issue has to do with so-called adult education. For many years, adult and continuing education was treated as the stepchild of the educational establishment. It was patted on the head from time to time, but mostly it was praised with faint damns. As with most embarrassing offspring, however, it would not go away; it just hung around waiting to become a full-fledged issue — and it has made it! Today in California, as in many other states, adult education has become the center of a statewide controversy sparked by the comments of politicians and escalated by the responses of almost everybody else. Questions abound: What is the definition of "adult education?" Are not all citizens over 18 years of age adults? Is there really a need to expand our programs of adult education? Who should offer adult education? What courses should be offered? Where should they be offered? And the clincher — who is going to pay for adult education?

I would argue that these and other questions are secondary issues, not the major ones. The real issue is our commitment to providing access and opportunity to citizens who missed the educational boat or who want to get back on board. Is a college education only for 18- to 24-year-olds with the traditional preparatory background? Are men or women who just wandered "accidentally" into a career or an occupation out of luck if they want a change? Are all those millions stranded in that great "cultural wasteland" we call television doomed to permanent exile?

There are some very sound arguments — pragmatic arguments — for expanding the opportunity for adult education. It may well be the answer to the steady-state enrollment that is rapidly approaching. It may be part (a large part) of the solution to job obsolescence in an increasingly technological world. And I believe it can also be the solution, and perhaps the only one, to the immediate and pressing problems of poverty, discrimination, and blighted opportunity.

The questions are legion. How do we approach the education of this vast adult population? What opportunities or handicaps will we place before the citizens? How do we organize this venture? To which institutions do we allocate which functions? How much do we charge for which offerings? How extensively should we commit ourselves to the support of education for fun, relaxation, self-improvement, and cultural awareness? These are all questions demanding answers. Bureaucracies at each level — educational, legislative, and gubernatorial — should quit waffling. The problem will not go away. The demands of the older age groups, especially, are increasing. Even if some institutions and states make the decision that state support should not go to part-time or to older students or for an off-campus delivery system, at least that would be a decision. We must also decide about two closely related problems that have plagued adult education for many years. One is adult education "overkill," the situation in which several institutions duplicate each others' programs and services in the same area. This misguided competition is academic inefficiency at its worst. The other problem is one of neglect, which leaves entire groups of potential students with few, and in some cases no, adult education opportunities.

Legislative and Academic Irony

The fourth issue illustrates the irony with which all of us must learn to live, for irony is truly one of the hallmarks of both legislative and academic worlds. All through the 1960s, the move on the part of legislatures was to centralize educational activities through various forms of coordinating councils or unified systems of higher education. While practically no state went the ultimate route of consolidating everything (Wisconsin and Maine left the vocational schools separate; the New York Regents have some power over everything, but the State University of New York is not exactly subservient), there was a feeling in the land that excessive competition and duplication and special appeals to legislatures from single campuses had to be brought under control. So a modified centralization took place, and by the 1970s practically every state had a coordinating body of some sort.

This brought loud cries of protest about loss of autonomy from the institutions (some of whom were, themselves, statewide systems, and they heard protests about violation of institutional autonomy from *their* own campuses).

The protests had some effect. No coordinating agency went too far, and the smart ones picked their battlegrounds carefully. Gradually they came to appreciate the plight of their academic institutions, and, in this interaction, relative peace was made in most states.

Regionalism

The fifth issue concerns regionalism. The irony is that the proponents of centralization are often now the very ones advocating decentralizing education to the regional level (which may be centralization from the campus viewpoint if you have been autonomous, left to do what you want). The reason is that we never did straighten out jurisdictional matters to any great degree; we never made the educational system a single unit with power to enforce rules, program changes, or whatever. I believe that we would never want such a tyranny from the top. I would not want all education invested in a single board, person, or group.

Here and there, different jurisdictions tried to work together voluntarily. Consortia were created. Voluntary agreements for shared facilities, libraries, faculties, and students made modest beginnings. Public and private universities and community colleges — and even, on occasion, proprietary schools — worked together in limited fashion. There was no true regional planning for the benefit of the citizens of an area; there was no willingness to yield real autonomy for the common good; and there were no methods, means, or powers of enforcement when someone did not stay within guidelines or rules.

So now as costs go up, inflation continues, enrollments are leveling off, and money is scarce, institutions and leaders are looking to regional planning, as opposed to statewide planning or absolute institutional autonomy, as a better use of limited funds. It is true that the larger and more complicated the state, the more need there is for a regional approach. Yet look at states like Washington, with Seattle and Spokane; Nevada, with Reno and Las Vegas; Arizona, with Phoenix and Tucson; and Oregon, with Portland and the Willamette Valley — areas where a regional approach to educational problems often makes more sense than a statewide operation. And, of course, it certainly does in California. The regional approach within a state is as important as the regional approach fostered by WICHE at the interstate level.

No doubt this view is encouraged by the harsh reality of no-growth budgets and shrinking educational dollars. But I would also like to think that we are motivated by the realization that autonomy and uniqueness are not demonstrated when three institutions offer the same program at the same time, in the same town. It simply does not make good sense — academically or economically — for our colleges to engage in this wasteful duplication and harmful competition.

The time has come for our public and private institutions to give more than lip service to the concept of

mutual cooperation for the benefit of our students and our society. We must coordinate our efforts and our resources, pooling our strengths, to provide the best education possible to the most people possible at the minimum cost possible. I firmly believe that we can achieve these goals through regionalism, and I hope it can be done voluntarily, perhaps with grants used as a lure to institutions to give up some of their autonomous ways.

There will be difficulties (when are there not?): resistance, jurisdictional squabbling, and cries of outrage — even anguish. But regional cooperation can and should be accomplished. With the prompting of state legislators — whether it be gentle or very firm — regionalism can lead to more efficient, more broadly based education, and higher quality education.

Statewide Coordination

The issue of regionalism is closely related to another issue that, in a sense, feeds on the regions, namely, the role of the statewide coordinating group, the state-level bureaucracy that varies so widely in powers, influence, and talents in the several states.

Should the statewide unit be the technical handmaiden of the legislature? The higher education tattletale? A policeman of the colleges and universities? An enforcer for the "mob"? Or should it be the diplomatic spokesman for the higher education community? The staunch ally of administrators and faculty? The defender of collegiate faith? Or the mouthpiece for the profession?

It should be none of these, of course — exclusively. It should be all of these, perhaps — in part. I believe it can be spokesman, leader, confidant, referee, and independent entity. I hope the schizophrenic nature of its having to relate to both the governor and legislature on the one hand and to the educational establishment on the other does not drive it to the brink.

Collective Bargaining

Collective bargaining for higher education is an issue that may or may not survive the 1970s. It is my private view, however, that in some form it *will* remain with us.

At its best, a campus is a community characterized by a mutual regard and respect, a shared commitment to the growth and well-being of all its members and to the importance of scholarship and individual competence. To a greater extent than in most organizations, the lines of authority on the campuses have been based on tacit understanding, trust, and good faith. This concept, which we call "collegiality," is a fragile thing, and it deserves our respect and protection.

Therefore, I would urge that any legislation state legislators may adopt clearly spell out specific conditions for bargaining, rather than leave such questions subject to interpretation by an employment relations board. The legislation I advocate would address itself to such issues as the basis on which bargaining units are to be determined, the issues that will be subject to bargaining, the method or methods to be followed in resolving disputes, the role of the governing board in the bargaining process, and the role of students in that same process.

The end goal and effect of such legislation should be to create a well-defined and regulated bargaining process that provides clear, orderly determination of salary and personal matters, while allowing questions of academic policy to be decided in a spirit of unimpeded collegiality.

Legislative Involvement

Before I broach the final issue, I want to make a personal comment or two about my past relations with legislators. My career has brought me into frequent and close association with legislators in a number of states around the country. These relationships have given me many pleasant memories, as well as a few scars. But on the whole, I must admit that I *like* legislators. Most of those I know work very hard at their job: they understand the issues and they vote their convictions. Beyond that, I think there is a natural affinity between legislators and educators that comes from certain characteristics shared in common: both love to talk; both have egos, more often than not, that are larger than those of most other people; both share a passion for committees and meetings; and both play politics with zest, whether in the lounge of the faculty club or in the halls of the legislature.

It is fortunate that educators and legislators do manage to get along fairly well together, because there is simply no way they can avoid each other. Certainly not when public higher education commands the single largest share of taxpayer dollars each year in many states. Certainly not when our largest capital investment is tied up in public educational facilities. And certainly not when such issues as collective bargaining, adult education, and regionalism, among others, are centers of public debate and controversy and the subjects of pending legislation.

There is no escaping the fact that politics inevitably plays a significant role in the decision-making arena of higher education. Legislators appoint board members, review budgets, approve new buildings and campuses, and set the level of spending. But that is sufficient. No matter how amiable the relationship, or how great the mutual respect, there is a point at which legislators and

educators must part company, and that is when legislators move beyond legitimate involvement in educational affairs to unwarranted interference. I do not characterize the increasing legislative demands for "accountability" as interference; if educators are as productive as it is maintained, they should be able to demonstrate it convincingly. I do not characterize requests for data on students, facilities, programs, and plans as interference; if this information is not available, it should be. If a legislature cannot obtain it, how can it possibly make sound educational decisions? (And I do not characterize responsible budget cutting as interference.)

In my view, involvement becomes interference when the legislature impinges on the academic integrity of educational institutions: when decisions about governance, institutional management, academic policy, program planning, admission requirements, faculty duties, and other related issues are made not in the halls of ivy, but in the corridors of the state house.

The trend in legislatures is to acquire qualified staff. As staff capacity increases, legislators and their assistants tend to believe that they know more than educators about education. They begin to nitpick and they have a position on almost every educational issue. They develop a fascination for the minutiae of budgets, they pose questions of infinite variety and detail, and they meddle in administrative matters and in the approval not only of academic policies, but also of new programs. They instruct the educational bureaucracy on what to study, how to study it, and, at times, they come perilously close to suggesting what the results of the study should be.

Some very well intentioned legislators and their staffs believe that they are being supportive of higher education through this kind of involvement. But no matter how laudable their intentions, how sincere their interest, the end result can be, and too often is, greater political control of our institutions. I acknowledge that many times there is a fine line between legitimate legislative policy direction and legislative meddling. What we must do (together, not separately) is to examine that line constantly, talk about it candidly, move it one way or another at times, and thereby assure independence of appropriate decision-making powers to members of both establishments, educational and legislative.

In the decade of the 1960s, one of the clearly enunciated objectives of some students — aided and abetted by some faculty — was to politicize the university, to make it "responsive" to the immediate political and social urgencies that confront our society. Against the dramatic background of those turbulent times, it was easy to perceive the "clear and present danger" which that objective posed. Efforts to politicize our institutions were resisted.

Today, in relatively quieter times, the danger of politicizing appears to have receded. But do not be misled, it is ever "present." It is difficult, even at times for educators, not to tinker with the machinery of our institutions. And to some legislators, it can be an irresistible temptation to which they yield in the name of "political realities" or of "the public good."

Educators do not lack for critics. In the eyes of cost accountants or management analysts, the university is not the model of modern management efficiency that it should be. In the view of the activist, the university does not respond with the required alacrity to critical social problems. In the opinion of the grass-roots legislators, the university is insensitive to the political imperatives of the day.

I would respond to such charges by restating the central purpose of the university: to seek the truth in every circumstance and in every age. And, as a historian, I would also emphasize that man's past is replete with painful lessons that today's "truth" is tomorrow's "error." This concept of the university has served this nation enormously well. It has provided us, often indirectly and over a seemingly long period of time, with economic, political, social, and intellectual advances that cannot be matched. It will continue to do so with our patience and understanding, and, above all, our unwavering commitment to its inherent rightness. It cannot do so if any legislator or educator corrupts it, whether it be in the announced name of "the public good" or in the unspoken name of "political power." So to legislators I say, "That choice is yours," and to educators I say, "That choice is yours." The choice for all of us is ours.

Focus on WICHE

Presider: Rep. Lindeman, Arizona

Sen. Blaylock, Montana

Sen. Roberts, Oregon

Sen. Swan, Utah

Rep. Sidi, Wyoming

Monday morning's plenary session provided an opportunity for western legislators and educators to discuss with WICHE Commissioners and staff the relationship between the regional organization and the West that it serves. The session was conducted by the Legislative Review Committee and was chaired by Committee Chairwoman Representative Anne Lindeman of Arizona. WICHE Chairman Lenton Malry of New Mexico opened the meeting, and WICHE Executive Director Robert H. Kroepsch extended to all of the participants a welcome to the Conference.

Before initiating discussion, Representative Lindeman reported briefly on the meeting of the Legislative Review Committee that had been held the preceding day, Sunday, 7 December, and explained the format that would be observed for the general session. At its meeting, the Legislative Review Committee had discussed three important organizational concerns: (1) the relationship between WICHE, a regional agency, and the western states; (2) the organizational functions of WICHE as expressed by its Compact and Bylaws; and (3) WICHE's programs, both existing and planned. These topics would serve as springboards for discussion at the second session, FOCUS ON WICHE. The Committee's discussion on the topics would be summarized for the participants by Senator Karl Swan of Utah and Representative Jack Sidi of Wyoming, both members of the Legislative Review Committee. WICHE programs would not be considered as a separate topic for discussion but would be used as examples to illustrate points related to the first two concerns. Discussion from the floor relating to the topics would be summarized at the end of the session by Senator Mary Roberts of Oregon and Senator Chet Blaylock of Montana.

Senator Swan summarized the Legislative Review Committee's discussion of the relationship between WICHE and the western states. He initially expressed the Committee's feeling of "ignorance" about the WICHE projects. Senator Swan stressed the Committee's concern that, in general, legislators feel they receive "poor quality information" regarding educational issues. The Legislative Review Committee members believe that, if they are to make decisions in the future concerning WICHE, they must receive the necessary factual information from the Commissioners. Specifically, the Committee requested a review of the adequacy of the student exchange fee in covering individual educational costs. The Committee recommended that information on the Student Exchange Programs be made available at the high school level. A repeated concern of the Legislative Review Committee was the lack of direct contact between legislators and WICHE personnel. The Committee recognized the benefit of interstate cooperation on a regional basis to avoid unnecessary and costly duplication of time and effort. Before opening the floor for questions, Representative Lindeman added that bilateral agreements between states are resulting because legislators lack information about the availability of spaces for student exchange in certain professional programs.

The discussion that followed the Committee's report was summarized by Senator Mary Roberts. Senator Roberts noted that the dominant theme of the participants' comments was a realization of the tremendous need for more information about WICHE — not only by the legislators, who need to make decisions and inform their constituents, but also by the general public and students as well. The newly released impact reports for the individual states were acknowledged as an initial step in apprising the states of the costs and benefits of WICHE programs. There was considerable controversy, however, over the appropriate amount for fee reimbursement in the Student Exchange Programs. Included in the sometimes heated discussion was the issue of bilateral contracts and their effect on the WICHE Student Exchange Programs. Legislators also questioned the degree of parity for ethnic minority students within the Student Exchange Programs; WICHE was encouraged to investigate what can be done to increase the number of spaces in professional schools available to minorities. A question raised but not settled by the discussion was whether or not WICHE should include capital costs in the SEP fees. A final point of the discussion was repeated by several legislators who suggested that regional planning should include a method of legislative review before decisions are made concerning programs to be funded by the legislators. Some participants suggested involving WICHE more actively in recommending sites for needed professional schools. This modification of WICHE's traditional role was not discussed fully, however.

Representative Jack Sidi summarized the Legislative Review Committee's consideration of the organizational functions of WICHE as expressed in the Compact and Bylaws. As a result of its discussion, the Committee recommended that Article 2, Section 1 of the Bylaws referring to membership be changed to include the following: "although not a requirement, it is recommended that one of the Commissioners be a serving legislator of each compacting state." Representative Sidi reaffirmed the Committee's concern that legislators are not receiving enough information about WICHE and its programs. Equally important to the Committee was the absence of mental health expertise on the Commission which, nonetheless, is making decisions relative to WICHE mental health programs. Before entertaining discussion, Representative Lindeman observed that the connection between some of WICHE's programs and higher education is very tenuous.

The discussion that followed was summarized by Senator Chet Blaylock. Senator Blaylock observed that the discussion had confirmed the legislators' dissatisfaction with the level of their participation in determining WICHE programs. The Conference participants moved and seconded to insert the recommended language as an amendment into the organizational Bylaws in order to increase legislative participation in WICHE. A short recess was called to allow each state to caucus before voting on this issue. The recommended amendment was approved by a 10 to 3 (Colorado, Idaho, and New Mexico dissenting) roll-call vote. The motion to recommend the change was passed and will be considered an action item on the agenda of the Commission Executive Committee Meeting to be held March 5 to 7, 1976, in Los Angeles.

The FOCUS ON WICHE concluded with brief presentations by members of the senior staff who reviewed the programs currently being conducted by WICHE.

The Legislative Council of the Southern Regional Education Board: How It Works

Senator W. E. (Pete) Snelson
Texas State Legislature

Rep. Malry, New Mexico

During my past 15 years of service in the Texas Legislature, there has not been any professional experience more rewarding than my relationship with the Southern Regional Education Board (SREB). This is because of my sincere belief in the role of the interstate compact in the field of higher education and because of the outstanding accomplishments under the leadership of Winfred Godwin, president of SREB. Thus, my remarks are centered on the issue of legislative involvement in SREB matters.

Legislative Involvement in SREB Activities

Legislative involvement has not always been at the level it is today. The original Compact and By-Laws of the Southern Regional Education Board adopted in 1948 did not provide for legislative membership on the Board, nor did they specify types of procedures of relationships between the Board and legislatures of the Compact states. Both the Compact and the By-Laws frequently refer to the services that SREB should render to member states; thus, by implication, they emphasize the need for clear and frequent communication between the Board and the respective legislatures. It is also necessary to remember that the governors of the member states are intimately involved in the affairs of the SREB. Each governor is a member of SREB and is responsible for the appointment of other members to the Board. A governor serves annually as chairman of the SREB, and this has meant from the beginning that the Board has political "status" and visibility in the states. This would not have been the case had the Board's affairs been controlled solely by educational leaders.

In addition SREB's annual or biannual request to the states for appropriations to support the Board and to carry out state commitments under the Compact underscored the need for strong relationships with the legislatures.

Also of importance is the fact that the Southern Regional Education Compact, conceived from the beginning as a broad and flexible instrument for the development of the South through higher education, came into being in the late 1940s. This was a time when higher education was becoming a more dominant concern of state government, and therefore a matter in which legislative influence and participation was increasing.

In 1955 the Compact was amended to provide for a fifth Board member from each of the Compact states, with the stipulation that this member be a state legislator. The success of the early Legislative Work Conferences in arousing more interest among the legislators in the regional programs was decidedly a major reason for this action by the Board. The governors and university presidents on the Board recognized the value to the regional program of having a legislative member from each state. While a few legislators had been appointed to membership on the Board during its early years, there was general agreement that the Compact itself should provide for at least one from each state. A

number of states, however, have more than one legislative member on the Board.

There are other ways in which legislative influence is felt in SREB itself. In 1954, 1955, and 1956, SREB choose a legislative member as vice-chairman of the Board, and since then a legislator traditionally has been elected secretary-treasurer. In addition, legislative members serve on the important Executive, Finance, and Plans and Policies Committees. Legislators comprise one-third of the Board's important Executive Committee, which has full power to act between Board meetings if necessary.

Legislators are also invited to serve on various program committees of SREB, including the Commission on Regional Cooperation and a special committee studying regional library cooperation. In short, the participation of legislators in the day-to-day affairs of the Board has increased through the years to the point where they are a vital influence in the shaping of SREB policies and programs.

The most visible — and vital — means of assuring major involvement of legislators in regional education, however, is the Legislative Advisory Council (LAC). In the 1955 action amending the Compact to provide for legislative representation from each state, SREB also decided to establish a continuing Legislative Advisory Council to advise the Board on legislative matters pertaining to southern regional education and to serve as a permanent steering committee for the annual Legislative Work Conference. LAC consists of at least one state representative and one state senator from each state. The legislators on the Board from each state automatically become members of the Council. LAC meetings are regularly held twice each year, including a meeting at the Legislative Work Conference.

Meetings of the Legislative Council generally last two days. Usually, they consist of both a discussion of specific SREB legislative activities and of a topic of regional concern that may need future SREB or LAC attention.

Present Council membership numbers 32 from the 14 SREB states. This membership includes 18 state senators and 14 state representatives. During the 20 years of the LAC's operation, nearly 140 legislators have served on the Council. Two of the original Council members are still members, with 20 years of continuous service — quite an accomplishment in this era of rapid turnover in legislatures. One can imagine the stability and visibility that these members provide. The present membership of the Legislative Advisory Council is well balanced in Council experience. Approximately one-third of the members have served 10 or more years, one-third have served 5 to 10 years, and one-third have been members for fewer than 5 years. A number of Council members chair or are ranking members of state education and finance committees.

When the SREB established the Legislative Advisory Council, it proposed several significant guidelines for LAC policy. The guidelines were:

1. That the Council be "a part of its [the Board's] *continuing program.*"
2. That there would be a relationship between the Council and the states: their governors and their legislatures.
3. That there would be a relationship between the Council and the Board: that the Council would advise the Board (and the President) on legislative matters pertaining to the operation of the Regional Compact.
4. That there would be a relationship between the Council and the Board's annual Legislative Work Conference: the Council would serve as the permanent steering committee for the annual Legislative Work Conference.

In accordance with these guidelines, consideration of the Board's Executive Committee, which had recommended establishing the Council, and the discussions at the Legislative Work Conference, which endorsed the Committee's recommendations, the following principles were adopted for Council policy:

1. *The Council as an Integral Part of Compact Operation.* The Council, as a continuing part of the Board's operation, shall keep itself informed of all programs and activities under the Southern Regional Education Compact. Council members and other legislators will take part in the study and deliberations of program committees of the Board, when possible, at the request of the SREB president. The Council will direct its efforts toward serving as an integral part of the operation of the Compact.

2. *The Council in Relationship to the Board.* In its relationship to the Board, the Council is an advisory body. It will review legislative matters pertaining to the operation of the Compact and make recommendations to the Board concerning those matters. It will study Compact operation and recommend to the Board legislative action designed to implement Compact purposes. It will recommend to the Board procedures for so designing and conducting its programs as to assure them of optimum legislative support.

3. *The Council in Relationship to the States.* The Council, in all of its actions and recommendations, will

be advisory in its relationship to the states. Members will keep their governors and legislatures advised of Compact program activities with which the Council is associated.

4. *The Council as the Legislative Work Conference Steering Committee.* The Council will determine policy and advise on procedures for the annual Legislative Work Conference on Southern Regional Education. It will advise the Board on matters pertaining to Legislative Work Conference scheduling, agenda, and participation.

Operating on these policy guidelines, LAC is involved in a number of activities. For example, based on the experience with the Legislative Work Conferences, LAC is sponsoring other seminar-workshops of smaller groups such as heads of education committees, appropriations-finance committees, legislative oversight committees, persons who serve simultaneously on education and appropriation-finance committees, and key staff persons for these various committees. An initial program of this kind focusing on budgeting for higher education and legislative oversight was held for finance and education committee chairmen January 8-10, 1976, in conjunction with the winter LAC meeting.

Information exchange among legislators and particularly between LAC and SREB staff is another matter to which the Council gives attention. One example of this information flow is an annual publication entitled *State Legislation Affecting Higher Education in the South.* This comprehensive yet comparatively brief summary keeps members well informed on higher education and budget developments throughout SREB states. This publication will be used next year to prepare a synopsis of legislative happenings, which will go to all legislators in the SREB area.

Naturally one of the most successful ways of exchanging information with legislators has been through the Legislative Work Conference, an activity to which the Council still assigns high priority.

Development of the SREB Conference and Its Role in Increasing Legislative Involvement

The Legislative Work Conference was originally conceived by SREB staff as a means of keeping legislators in the Compact states better informed about the Board and of seeking their advice on the conduct of the Board's activities. It was, in bluntest terms, an annual effort to show a group of legislators that SREB was a worthwhile activity deserving of continued support. The program of the first Legislative Work Conference, held in 1952, was designed to extend understanding and support of the Board. SREB's organization and methods of operation were carefully explained, and emphasis was placed on use of the regional Compact in a variety of ways for improving higher education.

Both staff and legislative participants professed satisfaction with the first conference and encouraged the holding of annual conferences. Almost from the beginning, however, both staff and legislative participants saw the Work Conference as having much broader possibilities than simply being an annual review of the work of SREB and of extending the cadre of loyal SREB legislators. Thus, the Work Conference has broadened its purpose to the point where it is now primarily a regional forum for the discussion of problems and issues in higher education of concern to all area states. SREB affairs, when deemed appropriate, are still given a place on the conference agenda, but generally they occupy a brief and subordinate place compared to the selected issues and problems that constitute the theme of a given Legislative Work Conference.

The agendas of the 24 annual Legislative Work Conferences have reflected a wide range of interests. Conference participants have tackled specific problems dealing with areas such as mental health, technical-vocational education, and graduate education. Other conferences have dealt with emotion-laden problems such as those of the student-goverance issues of the late 1960s. During the late 1950s and the 1960s, a recurring topic was providing educational opportunities during a period of rapidly increasing enrollments and expenditures. At the most recent work conference, titled "Efficiency and Effectiveness in Higher Education," higher education policies were discussed for a future in which both enrollment and finance trends are uncertain. My point is that these annual Legislative Work Conferences have been a way of focusing on matters of real substance in a way that encourages the most open exchange of ideas and extends understanding of the important issues in higher education. They have also been a valuable extension of LAC itself, in that they have exposed more legislators to the contributions and potential of regional education. As such, they have enhanced the LAC's efforts to remain sensitive to needed new directions for the Compact program.

A new development that has been encouraged by LAC is the establishment within SREB of the State Services Office, designed to increase and extend SREB services to all member states and particularly to state legislatures. The Office will develop and coordinate research, informational, and consultative services, and will be responsible for providing staff services for the Legislative Advisory Council and its activities. This includes assistance with the Legislative Work Conference and additional conferences and programs devel-

oped by LAC. The State Services Office is providing capsulized summary information of legislative-higher education interest, with backup details to answer legislators' inquiries. To complement the capsulized summary information, the State Services Office and other SREB staff and consultants will prepare detailed, but concise, issue papers on critical and controversial matters facing higher education and state legislatures. Other services will be provided, but here I think it is important to note only this increased emphasis on service to states and to state legislators. This State Services Office, located in the office of the SREB President, means that SREB is committed to maintaining and improving legislative involvement.

I want to stress that the relationships SREB has established with state legislatures have not resolved all of the difficulties in dealing with the states and their legislatures. As might be expected, relationships with some legislatures are stronger than with others, sometimes reflecting different degrees of participation of the states in the Compact program, sometimes simply reflecting the varying degrees of interest that different legislators have in higher education, and more particularly, in a regional education organization. On balance, however, the gradually maturing relationships with legislators have enabled SREB to become a stronger organization, with legislators an influential part of the program. Although the close involvement of governors in the Board's program has been of great convenience in efforts to develop satisfactory legislative relationships, it has not assured such relationships. Although SREB is a creature of states and not of institutions, its work is primarily with institutions of higher education. This has made it necessary, in order to relate effectively to universities, to develop legislative relationships that would not in any way threaten existing or future relationships between the public universities and the legislature of a given state; and would not divert the Board from its primary concern, that of the expansion and improvement of higher education in the southern states.

If interstate cooperation through regional compacts is important and serves a needed function for the benefit of higher education as well as the taxpayers of the individual states (and I personally answer both in the affirmative), then I think that legislative input and output are vital. It is essential that there be an almost equal interplay between the legislative and executive branches and higher education. I feel that we have achieved a most effective relationship in the southern region, but any success that we have been able to achieve must be attributed in large measure to the good will of both political and educational leaders whose concern for higher education and for regional cooperation has overcome the natural problems and tensions incidental to the establishment and development of a new kind of public organization.

As the West looks to the future and charts new plans, I hope that it will not be discouraged by temporary setbacks or difficulties. The ability to work together on a regional basis in higher education is essential if we are to successfully marshal our forces to meet the changing educational needs of the people and to do it in terms of sound fiscal responsibility and management.

Dollar, Dollar, Who Gets the Dollar?: Making Decisions in a Time of Fiscal Stringency

Dr. Frank M. Bowen
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University of California, Berkeley

Presider: Sen. Sandison, Washington

State budgeting for higher education has changed significantly during the past seven or eight years. I believe that these changes have a specific direction and that the pace of change is accelerating. It is now possible, although not without risk, to speculate on the broad outlines of higher education budgetary processes in, say, 1985. My own prediction is that public higher education will be supported and administered along lines that are similar to procedures and concepts proposed with great fanfare in the 1950s and 1960s, implemented in a desultory fashion by the federal and state governments, and either explicitly abandoned or less explicitly ignored in the early 1970s. I am, of course, talking about planning, programming, and budgeting systems (PPBS).

*This paper was presented at the National Seminar of the Inservice Education Program in Postsecondary Education, Education Commission of the States, and the National Association of State Budget Officers, in Denver, Colorado, on December 17, 1975. It is generally derived from three research projects with which I have been associated: with Lyman A. Glenny, Frank A. Schmidtlein, and others in a study of state budgeting for higher education jointly funded by the National Institute of Education and the Ford Foundation; with Eugene C. Lee in a survey of multicampus systems and the "steady state" funded by the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education; and currently with Lyman A. Glenny in a study of higher education's response to state fiscal crisis under a grant from the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education. The views expressed here are, of course, my own, and do not necessarily reflect those of the Inservice Education Program, the several funding agencies, nor the associates named here who kindly found time to review an earlier version of the paper.

The demise of PPBS in the federal government was announced in 1971, and Allen Schick wrote its obituary:

> The death notice was conveyed on June 21, 1971, in a memorandum accompanying Circular A-11, the Office of Management and Budget's (OMB) annual ritual for the preparation and submission of agency budget requests. No mention was made in the memo of the three initials which had dazzled the world of budgeting five years earlier, nor was there any admission of failure or disappointment.[1]

Prior to its demise, however, PPBS had spread to a number of states.[2] This is neither the time nor the place for a new assessment of PPBS in state budgeting. My impression, however, is that, at best, it is in a state of arrested development. There is a legacy of "program budget" formats in some states and, far more important, there is a growing interest in policy or program analysis among state agencies.[3] Although individual components of PPBS are being used to improve existing budgetary processes, it does not appear that they are being integrated into a *system* that would use the state budget to raise major policy alternatives for decision. Viewing education as an overall state program, elementary and secondary education remain isolated from postsecondary education. Aside from the formality of 1202 commissions, postsecondary education is still fragmented into traditional higher education, community colleges, and proprietary schools.

Within higher education itself, however, state higher education agencies, multicampus systems, and individual institutions are moving — or are being driven — toward substantial achievement of what I see as the major objectives of PPBS: the integration of institutional objectives, program review, and the budgetary process. Unlike PPBS as originally conceived — what I call "traditional PPBS" — the present movement in higher education lacks a name. It has some aspects of a "process budget," which Fremont Lyden sees as essential for resource reallocation.[4] "Policy analysis" might well describe the result of higher education's efforts to cope with the technical requirements of traditional PPBS.[5] Earl Cheit simply called it a "new style" that is characterized by control, planning, evaluation, and resource reallocation.[6] Yet these are also the characteristics of traditional PPBS, which, of course, had been tried in higher education as it was in state government.[7] It did not find particularly fertile ground in colleges and universities, however, and to my initial thought that the new movement might be called "academic PPBS," Lyman Glenny countered with the suggestion that "imperative planning" would be a better term. Imperative planning lacks the negative connotations of a seeming endless array of technical procedural requirements associated with traditional PPBS. And, of the characteristics of the "new style" suggested by Cheit, resource reallocation is clearly the imperative that leads to control, planning, and evaluation.[8]

Imperative planning is a term coined for this paper. It is neither intended to encompass specific procedures nor a specific budgetary format. Indeed, these will differ within and among states, systems, and institutions. Rather, imperative planning describes whatever procedures are used when higher education settles down to realistic and serious integration of program planning and budgeting.

After briefly explaining what I mean by traditional PPBS, I will give an example of emerging budgetary practice in higher education — imperative planning. I will then compare and contrast traditional PPBS with imperative planning to show why I believe the latter is succeeding in higher education while the former remains dormant in state government.

Traditional PPBS

Traditional PPBS had its origins in the Hoover Commission's 1949 recommendations of a federal "performance budget" based on functions and activities. In 1954 the Rand Corporation added the refinement of looking at "programs" as objectives rather than as simply combinations of related activities. Traditional PPBS was designated as the technique for formulation of the Defense Department budget for fiscal 1963, and in 1965 President Johnson required most federal agencies to follow this procedure.[9]

Both concepts and components of traditional PPBS are fairly generally understood, even though different organizations used different words for them. The conceptual bases have been concisely stated by Balderston and Weathersby:

> The key conceptual components of a PPB System are: (1) systematic long-range *planning* (5-15 years) which clearly articulates objectives and carefully examines the costs and benefits of alternative courses of action which meet these global objectives; (2) a selection process for deciding on a specific course of action (1-5 years) in the context of the examined alternatives and chosen objectives (*programming*); (3) translating these decisions into immediate (0-1 years) specific financial, manpower, and policy plans (*budgeting*); and (4) recognizing a multiyear planning horizon and incorporating to the fullest extent possible the total long-term costs and benefits attributable to each course of action.[10]

The components of traditional PPBS were also fairly well recognized. Many had been a part of budgetary practice for some time; the contribution of PPBS, however, was the attempt to integrate them into an operating system. Drawing on a number of sources, the following appear to be the major components for an operating, traditional PPBS process. At a minimum these components consisted of explicit, and, wherever possible, quantitative goals and objectives, a budget format structuring output-producing programs in terms of these goals, multiyear projections of outputs, long-range plans, the use of cost-benefit analyses, and procedures linking the substantive programs, the budget, and supporting information.

The concepts unify the various components, but the attitudes of senior state and institutional officials, administrators, and budget professionals give reality to the process. Bertram Gross noted:

> The PPB spirit is more important than the letter. Some offices practice PPB without knowing it; others go through all the formal motions without coming anywhere near it. Moreover, *there is really no one system.*[11] [Author's emphasis]

It is this emphasis on the attitude or spirit behind PPBS as originally conceived that has led me to characterize it as "traditional." A tradition, of course, is something handed down more by word-of-mouth than by written precept, and there is something ironic about using it to describe practices that, for some critics, appear to have little purpose other than the proliferation of paper. Schick[12] noted — and our own investiga-

tions confirm — the tendency of the attitude or spirit of PPBS to become exhausted by the routine tasks of PPBS documentation. Gross found that, beneath the routine documentation and specialized procedures and terminology, the "spirit of PPB is a marriage between program planning and budgeting."[13] This same union characterizes imperative planning in higher education.

Emerging Budgetary Practice in Higher Education

Leaders of public higher education are not primarily interested in developing new and more rational budgetary procedures. Their concern is with the substance of academic administration, both day-to-day problems and those that loom in an uncertain future. But budgetary procedures are being improved, and the impetus for improvement can be found in real problems of educational management and administration, not in the abstractions of budgetary or organization theory.

The University of Wisconsin System provides the clearest evidence, in my opinion, of how current trends have changed and improved the budgetary process. For the University of Wisconsin, fiscal stringency has been severe and prolonged for two biennial budget cycles, 1973-1975 and 1975-1977. The contracts of hundreds of probationary employees were not renewed and 88 tenured faculty were given layoff notices effective in 1973-1974, with another 32 in the 1974-1975 academic year. Over a period of 3 years, increasingly sophisticated budgetary procedures have been developed by the university. In 1975, the governor requested a plan for "phasing out" and "phasing down" campuses and programs in light of his estimate of long-term financial and enrollment prospects. The university identified the "quality versus access" dilemma and countered with a proposal that the legislature approved called the "2 + 2 Planning/Budget Cycle." Under this proposal, the university system would submit biennially a budget request covering a 4-year rolling-base period, and including campus-by-campus enrollment targets by level and program mix. The governor and legislature would deal with the budget request by identifying two-year *certain* and an additional 2-year *tentative* budget authorization for fixed-cost and enrollment increases. The proposal stated:

> The University System understands that no legislature can commit funding for more than two years, nor can the state any more than the University System be free from such fiscal crises as may flow from an event such as the current recession. . . . Nevertheless, it is possible to normalize the basis for resource expectations on the part of the System by projecting the policy bases for such expectations on a four-year front.[14]

The proposal was apparently well accepted by the legislature, and, although the university system is still faced with immediate fiscal problems, there is hope that these can be resolved in a more predictable context than is available in other states.

The most recent budgetary procedures developed by the University of Wisconsin responded to the governor's budget proposals for the 1975-1977 biennium. These proposals: (1) denied funding for additional enrollment, (2) required "productivity" savings greater than had been initially indicated, and (3) denied any inflationary erosion offsets. These three factors required base-budget retrenchment, and the new allocation procedures for "distributing the pain" were guided by a "composite support index (CSI)," which reflected the relative enrollment support capacity of each residential campus. Campus differences in programming, level, and discipline were recognized in composite by weighting student credit hours. Enrollment targets derived from evaluations of this composite index were set for 1975-1976 and 1976-1977, and served to guide new students away from campuses whose CSI was low to those campuses that enjoyed a relatively higher CSI. A simplified extract from a system policy paper[15] illustrates the concepts and their application in the case of three campuses for the first year of the biennium.

Table 1

Composite Support Index

Institution	1974-1975 WSCH*	(Actual) Cost/WSCH (CSI)	1975-1976 WSCH	(Targeted) Cost/WSCH (CSI)
Oshkosh	360	$41.75	366	$39.70
Eau Claire	338	36.36	334	37.62
Parkside	128	54.49	137	48.44

*WSCH = Weighted student credit hours (in thousands).

Assuming level funding, the target enrollments for 1975-1976 would result in lower support for Parkside and slightly higher support at Eau Claire. In fact, the cost projections (i.e., Cost/WSCH) included the differential allocation of an overall $1.6 million "productivity" cut recommended in the governor's budget. This is illustrated by the same three campuses:

Table 2

1975-76 Differential Allocation (in thousands)

Institution	Prorated 1.5% cut	Adjustments	Net reduction
Oshkosh	−228	+70	−158
Eau Claire	−210	+260	+50
Parkside	−113	−230	−343
Balance of university cluster	−1,078	−100	−1,178
Total	−1,629	—	−1,629

The $1.6-million "productivity" cut was allocated selectively on the basis of explicitly stated academic

planning principles. Larger than average reductions were allocated to four campuses, including Parkside. From these funds, substantial relief was given to Eau Claire, and the effect of the cut was mitigated for Oshkosh and one other campus.[16]

A more recent refinement of the composite support index takes into account situations like that at the Parkside campus, where the headcount enrollment is substantially greater than full-time equivalent enrollment and weights the differing forms of enrollment to recognize the additional processing and counseling workload required.[17]

It should be emphasized that the proposal for a 4-year budgeting-and-planning cycle — the "2 + 2" plan — and the current capacity for detailed quantitative analysis evidenced by the composite support index did not emerge full-blown in 1975. They are part of an ongoing academic planning process that began several years earlier with the establishment of campus and system objectives through public hearings.[18]

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish reality from rhetoric in discussing budgetary reform both at state and institutional levels. Policy pronouncements of governors and higher education leaders are often embalmed in detailed administrative directives and memoranda that may bury rather than reveal agency or institutional operations. Organization charts present the same trap for the unwary but occupy less shelf space than, for example, a 200-page volume entitled *Program Effectiveness Measures for Selected State Agencies* issued by a state budget office. The latter is so exhaustive that one wants to believe in its use. In fact, however, one may have to look closer to the grassroots for reality.

There seems to be a reality in the report of a faculty committee that reviewed existing and newly proposed programs at several campuses of a multicampus system. Their recommendations for funding were followed, and their report suggested that the central administration might well show greater interest in campus programs than it had in the past:

> We concluded that the individual campuses are largely unaware of what is happening in [*similar programs*] on the other campuses and we suspect that, up to this point, no one at statewide has been accurately informed, either. Regardless of the degree of formal planning and control that might be exercised from a systemwide point of view, we suggest that [*the systemwide administration*] designate some individual or committee to monitor the progress and development of the various schools and programs on a continuing basis in the future.[19]

There is a widely held but erroneous belief among state officials that the heads of coordinating agencies, multicampus systems, and campuses have absolute management control over their faculty. I cannot take time to try to dispel this misapprehension here, but for those who do not labor under it, the report and the extract from it above are significant almost to the point of being revolutionary. *Faculty* — not administrators — are suggesting both funding priorities and administrative monitoring of academic programs. This particular program review was part of a recently established system for integrating academic program decisions with the budgetary process. Whether the system as a whole is "rhetoric" or "reality" remains an open question. But attitudes reflected in the report and the administrative response to it are assuredly some evidence of better informed budgetary decisions.

Comparison and Contrast

PPBS as originally conceived (traditional PPBS) affords a useful framework for closer examination of imperative planning. Both traditional PPBS and imperative planning aim for the union of program planning and budgeting. PPBS in state governmental budgeting, however, is "an idea whose time has not quite come,"[20] while in higher education the time seems ripe for imperative planning. Why is this so? Table 3 summarizes aspects of both traditional PPBS, and imperative planning which, examined in greater detail, may provide an answer.

Table 3

Comparison of Traditional PPBS and Imperative Planning

Questions	Traditional PPBS	Imperative Planning
1. What activities do procedures encompass?	All state services	Only higher education services
2. What is origin of procedures?	Various; often outside "experts"	Senior administrators within organization
3. When are procedures initiated?	Anytime	When programmatic decisions so require
4. What is relative status of budget professionals?	Relatively high	Relatively low
5. What is relative importance of data quantification?	Relatively high	Relatively low
6. What is relative importance of dollars as such compared to programs?	Dollars of relatively greater importance	Programs of relatively greater importance

Scope of Activity

Traditional PPBS was intended to guide and integrate all governmental activity. Budgetary programs

would cross organizational lines to better portray their relationship to national or statewide objectives. The aim of imperative planning is more modest, encompassing only the activities of one or of a relatively small number of similar organizations. Moreover, higher education comes to proposals for budgetary reform with a history — albeit a checkered one — of structured coordination of academic program activity. Imperative planning can be more easily implemented in higher education than PPBS in state government because of organizational similarity and a history of real or attempted program coordination.

Origin of Procedures

Traditional PPBS originated in think tanks supported by the Department of Defense and spread to the states through the missionary efforts of consultants with federal funds.[21] Although governors or legislative leadership sometimes initiated traditional PPBS, their attention span was rarely sufficient to maintain the initial impetus. If traditional PPBS was attempted on only the governor's initiative, legislative leaders often remained wedded to the traditional budgetary practices in which they were the experts.[22] And they sometimes had the tacit support of the professional staff of the executive budget office.[23] Moreover, governors themselves, as in California, might find that multiyear projections of expenditures had considerably less to recommend them in reality than in theory.

In contrast, imperative planning not only originates with the executive heads of state systems, multicampus systems, and campuses, but has their ongoing support. Governors and legislators may have used traditional PPBS for presenting alternatives for decision, but none were under any illusions that it would or should replace existing political structures and processes. Conversely, senior academic administrators find that the external world is imposing new "political" structures and processes on higher education.

When Are Procedures Initiated?

For substantial budgetary improvements to take root, mere recognition of deficiencies in the existing process is not enough. Whatever faults an existing process might have, it does produce annual or biennial budgets, and there is nothing irrational about preferring a working procedure to a proposed one with faults that are unknown. Traditional PPBS was introduced into the states when resources were relatively plentiful and procedures — if not ideal — were working. Imperative planning, on the other hand, is higher education's response to resource scarcity. The old budgetary procedures — the formulas, the needs requests — no longer assure adequate state funding. Operational needs — wholly aside from budgetary procedures — require both analysis of academic programs and close examination of their relationship to the statewide, systemwide, and institutional objectives. In brief, imperative planning emerges as a natural — perhaps the only — solution to existing and urgent substantive needs. Traditional PPBS, in contrast, remains a possible solution to needs that are perceived as less pressing.

Relative Status of Budget Professionals

Whether it be the federal Office of Management and Budget or a state office of administration, budget bureau, or department of finance, the executive fiscal agency is generally — almost always — a major focus of power.[24] State budget offices are the one place in state government where agency priorities are brought together with the hope of welding them into a coherent whole.

The state's chief financial officer is generally a powerful politician dealing with his peers. Major state policy issues are often fiscal issues, but even when they are not, his opinions are of great weight. In contrast, a financial officer in higher education rarely has similar status. Neither a scholar nor a teacher, he lacks the prestige that is the coin of the realm in academic life. Educational policy is the province of the institutional president, the faculty, or the governing board. The academic budget officer must translate policy into budgetary format, but unlike his counterpart, the senior state fiscal officer, he usually has a relatively minor role in policy decisions themselves.

For traditional PPBS, administrative strength, political clout, and the policy role of the executive budget office had two results. If budget staff perceived the new procedures as a threat to its authority it could and did subvert them. If, on the other hand, these procedures were seen as enhancing its power, then other state agencies and sometimes the legislature were in opposition. State fiscal agencies were an important element in a balance of political power, and traditional PPBS, if more than simple tinkering with forms, threatened that balance. While imperative planning poses a similar threat to internal power balances in higher education, the threat is less because the academic budget officer is less dominant.

The Importance of Data Quantification

In traditional PPBS, quantified output measures had high priority but were clearly one of the most difficult of the required elements to accomplish.[25] Anthony Downs suggested that the "bigger the role of judgment in the final decision, the greater the probability that a wise man will make the right choice without the help" of quantified data.[26] Numbers of dollars are the tools of the state budgetary trade, but major decisions about them and programs represented by them are rarely based on statistical or even simple

arithmetic calculations. Rather, the judgment of elected officials and senior budget administrators furnishes the answers, PPBS techniques take a back seat, and the result is a "damaging gap between publicity and performance."[27]

Imperative planning is unlikely to suffer from the "gap between publicity and performance." There has been little publicity, for the improved budgetary processes have never been introduced by a particular title or as an end in themselves. More to the point, the academic establishment expects little from the quantification of information — at least about its own activities. When the report of the National Commission on the Financing of Postsecondary Education[28] appeared, it was reviewed in a major educational journal under the title "Proved at Last: One Physics Major Equals 1.34 Chemistry Major or 1.66 Economics Major."[29] Healthy skepticism about quantification permeates higher education, and imperative planning may well succeed because its proponents have less faith in quantitative analysis than seemed to be required in traditional PPBS.

Dollars and Programs

In state government, the allocation of dollars is an end in itself, for proposed expenditures must be balanced against projected revenues. Yet, for senior educational administrators the decisions relating to faculty, students, and academic programs are foremost in importance. They lack control over revenues, and while dollars can be marginally critical, faculty, students, programs, and their respective costs are already related to each other and are largely determined by past budgets.

To put the matter somewhat differently, traditional PPBS promised — or was seen to promise — the opportunity for governors and legislators to achieve specific objectives by reallocation of funds in the state budget. The practical limits imposed by existing commitments may have been obscured by the habit of dealing with state services in terms of abstract dollar amounts. In any event, it is by no means clear that the proponents of traditional PPBS were fully aware of the constraints that reality imposes on state budgeting. They seemed to believe that conventional wisdom about last year's budget being the best predictor of this year's budget pointed out a deficiency in existing budgetary processes.[30]

In contrast, few higher education administrators deal with dollars as an abstraction, and there are few illusions about the practical limits to shifting dollars to achieve program objectives.

Conclusion

The activity in the University of Wisconsin and elsewhere — imperative planning — is not simple belt tightening. Many higher education organizations are not merely spending less money but are doing so through structures and processes intended to maintain and improve educational services.[31]

Finally, an important disclaimer: former University of California Chancellor Roger Heyns once said that he was unaware of any problems in higher education that would be solved with less money. Neither am I, and nothing herein should be otherwise interpreted. Even the most rational budgetary process cannot replace educational quality. Without attempting to define "quality," we all know that it is unlikely to be found in overcrowded classrooms, overworked or poorly paid instructors, badly maintained buildings, or fragmented course sequences. Fiscal stringency, whether induced by state economic conditions, by inflationary erosion of budget bases, or by state governmental fiat, cannot improve the quality of higher education in any way. At best, imperative planning can reduce the potential harm.

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Demands Across the Table: Trends, Effects, and Issues in Collective Bargaining in Higher Education

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Developing Trends and Current Events

1. Twenty-four states now have collective bargaining laws covering faculty in higher education. (Three do not cover senior colleges and universities.)

2. Four new laws were enacted in 1975 (California, Connecticut, Maine, and New Hampshire).

3. Passage of labor legislation tends to "flow" from north to south. Most of the states in the northern one-third of the nation have such laws; only Florida among southern states has a law. There is considerable legislative activity in almost all of those middle and northern states that presently have no law.

4. College faculties in at least two states (Ohio and Illinois) are organizing without benefit of law. Two states prohibit public employee bargaining.

5. State legislatures are beginning to recognize differences between industry and lower education and higher education. Maine passed a special bill for higher education. More laws specify special "employers" for colleges and universities. Three states (California, Washington, and Wisconsin) have omitted higher education from omnibus bills and are considering special bills for higher education. California created a special labor administrative board for education. More legislative committees are seeking advice from higher education officials before shaping legislation.

6. Public attitude toward public employee bargaining and strikes appears to be more conservative since the teacher and fire-fighter strikes of September and October 1975. These attitudes were also probably affected by the fiscal crises in New York City and elsewhere throughout the nation.

7. Use of faculty strikes and threats of strikes are becoming more common in higher education and more acceptable among faculty members generally throughout the nation.

8. There are 433 campuses that now have faculty unions: 109 public four-year colleges; 268 public two-year schools; 48 private four-year schools; and 8 private two-year schools. (Approximately 100,000 college teachers unionized.)

9. More salary agreements are being tied to the cost of living and the Consumer Price Index.

10. Unionized faculties are negotiating more contracts that slow down retrenchment and give faculty more control of promotions, appointments, and tenure.

11. There is a growing body of case decisions relative to the scope of bargaining in the various states. There is general agreement that *mandatory subjects of bargaining* (along with hours and wages) include grievance procedures, promotion procedures, methods of teacher evaluation and/or removal, and probationary periods of employment.

12. There appears to be general agreement as to certain *management "rights,"* namely, to determine institutional mission and programs, level of funding, right to hire and fire, job assignment, methods of supervision, organization of resources, size of work force, standards of service, and standards of recruitment.

13. There is a growing tendency of labor boards to require public employers to negotiate the *impact* of any management decision on working conditions. Many university administrators believe that such "daily negotiations" reduce substantially their ability to manage efficiently and creatively.

14. Subjects of bargaining about which there is most disagreement among the states include class size,

retirement benefits, agency shop, preeminence of negotiated contracts over law other than labor law, selection of textbooks, preparation time for teachers, in-service education requirements for teachers, and parity in wages.

15. The general tendency of state labor boards and of the National Labor Relations Board is to rule that chairmen of college departments are members of the union, not management. This is being hotly contested by university officials, who say it forces a reorganization of staff and reassignment of duties, which is a management prerogative.

Some Issues in Shaping State Legislation Providing for Collective Bargaining in Higher Education

1. **What should be contained in the statement of purpose and policy?**

   Discussion: Some unions believe that purpose should be stated directly "to promote collective bargaining." University presidents generally agree that the purpose should be to "assure orderly and uninterrupted government services."

   Import: Each law goes through a trial period when it is evaluated in terms of its purpose(s). It then goes through a period of challenges and amendments. The argument is that evaluation and amendment should be based on research and facts directly related to the stated purpose. If a purpose is to reduce work stoppages, then a law can be held accountable in terms of whether or not there are more or fewer strikes after the law was passed and whether or not strikes were caused by social conditions other than the law.

2. **Who should be specified by law as the employer for a state university, for a state college, or for a community college?**

   Discussion: About half of existing state laws specify the employer (usually a governing board or a state officer), the others do not. Where the employer is not specified, the governor (or attorney general) makes the decision. Unions want to bargain with those who control the purse strings. University spokesmen generally favor the governing board as the employer, saying that any other person acting as employer constitutes governmental "intervention."

   Import: Unions feel that to deal with anyone less than the governor's office invites "strikes" caused by a failure of the legislature to provide the funds required to implement a negotiated contract. Universities point out that bargaining with the governor results in: (1) by-passing the trustees and university administration, thereby disrupting the normal processes by which an academic community governs itself; (2) more decisions being made by political officials dealing with such things as the workload, hours, appointments, and college calendar that directly affect the character and quality of education; (3) pushing trustees, students, alumni, and others out of their traditional roles in a self-governing academic community; (4) reducing (or even changing) the authority of university trustees and executives established by education law, without reducing their responsibility, and so forth.

3. **What should be included in the scope of bargaining?**

   Discussion: Unions tend to prefer a simple statement of "wages, hours, and other terms and conditions of employment." Universities prefer a clear specification of what is bargainable and what is not. Unions believe that the process of bargaining (supported by unfair labor practices) is the best means of determining what the parties are willing to put into an agreement. Universities want their duties and responsibilities as specified in education law to be accompanied by equivalent authority. They say that some collective bargaining laws are written without regard for education law, and that education laws have, in some cases, been emasculated by bargaining laws and contracts.

   Import: Bargaining in higher education usually leads to "shared authority" between unions and administration, less participation in university affairs by trustees and students, and little change in the fact that the "public" holds administrators, not unions, responsible for educational quality, efficiency, and uninterrupted orderly service. Presidents point out that: (1) bargaining determines the "conditions under which they administer and supervise; (2) sometimes they have little or no say about these conditions because they have little control of, or may not even be represented at, the bargaining table; and (3) they, not union or government officials, are

fired for ineffective operational procedures over which they have little or no control.

4. Who should be included in the bargaining unit?

Discussion: Generally, a union wants to strengthen its resources by including as many bona fide members as possible. Universities, however, want to keep their administrative "team" intact, and, therefore, want to exclude from the union department chairmen, directors, assistant and associate deans, deans, librarians, and the like.

Import: When chairmen, directors, and other lower echelon administrators become union members, the tendency is for them to refrain from making decisions that may be grieved by union colleagues (and thus create friction within the union). When this happens, deans become directly responsible for lower level decisions, collecting all the data, keeping personnel records, and generally becoming lower level middle management; i.e., the entire administrative organization is eventually affected by shifting responsibility and authority. They point out also that these shifts in authority and organizational responsibility are caused by decisions made by an outside agency (PERB, public employment relations board) that has no authority for organizing or operating the university. The same PERB, in adjudicating later unfair labor practice cases, almost always upholds the right of management to "organize its resources" as it wishes.

5. Who should determine the nature and membership of the bargaining unit?

Discussion: Three agencies could be given this responsibility. The legislature can specify in the law (as in Massachusetts) mutually exclusive categories of personnel who have the right to form a union and whether or not the unit will be statewide or campus by campus. Many state laws omit such stipulations and leave the decisions to the labor administrative board (PERB). Universities feel that their governing boards have always made such decisions relative to campus internal governance mechanisms and by education law are responsible for such decisions. They see no reason to inject an external agency (PERB) into the academic community, especially in those states where the university governing board is not specified by law as a party at the bargaining table. (One party at the table should not be in a position to determine membership of the other party.)

Import: In some states, PERBs are making a number of decisions formerly made by boards of trustees. When this happens, trustees feel that their authority is being eroded with no change in accountability. PERBs cannot be held accountable for university effectiveness, yet they are being given more and more authority to determine who shall be in the administration and who in the union, how many unions there shall be, whether faculties unionize on statewide or campus level, what is and is not bargainable, how and when impasses should be mediated and settled, whether or not strikes are illegal or punishable, whether or not fines (and how much) should be assessed for illegal strikes, what are management responsibilities and what are not, whether or not students have a right to be at the bargaining table and for what role, etc. These decisions obviously affect the size, organization, and character of an academic community that historically has been shaped cooperatively by trustees, administration, faculty, and students over the years to encourage and enhance the "production" of a product called "learning." Academicians have claimed that learning is partially, at least, a product of human relationships, yet outside PERBs are "fixing" those relationships in accordance with practices born in industrial situations in which the consumer has almost nothing to do with production processes. As a result, the consumer is barred from the table. Yet, in the academy, the consumer (student) is a coproducer of the product (learning) that is fabricated largely through and during communal relationships between the employee (teacher) and the consumer (student). It is, therefore, argued by some that if a PERB, rather than trustees, becomes the final arbiter of relationships and responsibilities, it, not the trustees, should be held accountable for the effectiveness of the university.

6. Should faculty strikes be permitted without limitation, with specified limitations, or prohibited?

Discussion: Unions feel that collective bargaining without the right to strike is virtually

without meaning since the union has no means to enforce its rights at the table or to enforce the contract. Others argue that unions, by the use of strike, are illegally denying taxpayers the services for which they have paid. Older arguments might involve the concept of government sovereignty. Other arguments revolve about health, safety, and the denial of "essential" services. Many states have tried to resolve the problem through varying types of legislation, but few believe they have found even a partial answer that prevents strikes. Most forms of penalties have been ineffective in deterring employees bent on striking. When teachers lose pay for days on strike, schools make up "extra days" for which teachers are paid, leaving students and parents as the major losers in strikes. The State of New York withholds two days of pay for every day of strike, yet New York is a leader in the number of education strikes. PERBs and courts, in assessing fines, always have the right to modify fines in accordance with the types and seriousness of the causes of strikes.

Import: Some scholars of labor relations claim that no one has found an effective means of preventing strikes in education (or in public employment generally). Given the seriousness of public sector strikes (police, fire fighters, sanitation workers, etc.) and the long-range effects of teacher strikes on the education of children, there is serious doubt as to whether or not the power of public unions can be reasonably contained except through moral persuasion and great economic crises such as that in New York City or a 1930-type of depression.

7. Who should approve a negotiated agreement before it is signed into contract?

Discussion: Ordinarily, an agreement is ratified by union membership. The question is whether or not it should also be ratified by others whose work is directly affected, e.g., by the board of trustees (especially when the governor's office negotiates the contract)? By the chief administrators whose working conditions of administration and supervision are shaped by the contract? By the student body (especially in Montana where a student representative is elected to represent students' interests at the table)? By the legislature responsible for providing funds (universities and unions in Michigan and Rhode Island have had serious contractual problems when the legislature failed to provide funding)?

Import: Lack of the right to approve or veto a contract can create conditions conducive to such things as strikes, trustee indifference, administrative torpor, student anger (e.g., about tuition increases), and student political activity at the state level.

8. Who should the law designate to administer the collective bargaining law for universities?

Discussion: In some states, a new public employment relations board is created. The question most often raised is whether or not a board dealing with such agencies as civil service, police, and sanitation can have the knowledge and understanding essential to effectively adjudicating problems in the academic community.

In some states, the existing labor agency for private industry is given jurisdiction over public sector bargaining. This assumes that industrial labor processes are valid in the academic enterprise.

The new California law creates an "educational" employment relations board. Will this become a super board with jurisdiction over existing university coordinating boards, the board of regents, boards of education, and campus trustees?

Some institutions argue that the functions of the labor board are valid functions of the campus board of trustees or the state coordinating board, and that additional boards create another expensive layer of administration, and also confuse and erode the responsibilities and authority of everyone concerned, without changing existing state civil service and education laws.

Generally, unions favor a labor board unrelated to education because they feel that only such a board can be unbiased and neutral. This argument is not acceptable to most trustees and administrators.

Import: The administrative agency's decisions determine much of the character and internal relationships of the university (and perhaps its effectiveness).

9. Should binding arbitration of grievances (and impasses) be a permissible, mandatory, or prohibited subject of bargaining?

Discussion: It is argued that binding arbitration is the only way to settle difficult disputes without the use of strikes, thereby preserving "orderly and uninterrupted government service." Some groups (e.g., "Right to Work" advocates) believe that no arbitrators, since they are neither elected nor appointed to public office, should have the authority (by negotiated contract) to substitute their judgment for that of a government official. The argument relates to the traditional theory of government sovereignty.

Unions generally want both arbitration and the right to strike, feeling that without these "working tools" the worker and the union are deprived of their primary source of power to bargain effectively.

Universities generally feel that local campus "academic judgment" on such matters as tenure and promotion is the only valid basis of decision and that outsiders, regardless of training, have no way of making proper decisions. Therefore, they believe that arbitration should be "permissible" (management prerogative) only with concurrence of university authorities and for limited purposes (usually limited to due process issues, thereby eliminating substantive matters from arbitration dockets).

Import: To the extent that third-party "neutrals" make binding decisions on important university decisions, the authority of executives and trustees is obviously eroded. Legislators, in approving arbitration, should consider the need to specify the parameters of arbitrators' decisions. Education law should accordingly be modified as to the authority of trustees and university executives so they will be held responsible for only those matters over which they are given full authority.

10. Should binding arbitration be limited to procedural matters?

Discussion: Some arbitrators and union officials claim that substance and procedure cannot be separated in complex cases. Thus an arbitrator may identify a "wrong" but have no means to correct that "wrong" if his or her role is limited (both in purpose and by the available remedies stated in the contract). A study of arbitration decisions indicates that arbitrators have gone beyond contractual limitations in a number of cases. Some of these decisions have been upheld in court, some reversed. Some have not been submitted to courts because of expense and time.

University spokesmen generally claim that arbitration of substantive decisions erodes their power, emasculates collegial processes, and makes it relatively impossible for them to be accountable for the responsibilities assigned to them by education law.

Import: The importance of the matter is self-evident. Who should be held accountable and for what? When new laws are shaped, their relationships to existing laws should be clearly defined.

11. Who should be the final arbiter of an "impasse" between two negotiating parties within a university?

Discussion: Universities historically have been unique enterprises. They have built-in mechanisms of self-governance traditionally characterized by considerable freedom from such government agencies as courts, legislatures, and politically elected officials. Some states have given their universities a status equivalent to a "fourth branch of government." Self-governing academic communities are distinguished from most other governmental agencies by having a strong body of "neutrals" called trustees who traditionally have arbitrated all major disputes among the constituent bodies (faculty, students, alumni, administration, etc.). Since trustees are unpaid and often donate funds to the university, their decisions are supposedly nonpartisan and "in the best interests of the university as a whole." Trustees have been known to fire administrators when they cannot "get along with" faculty, or students, or alumni. They also sometimes fire faculty who do not please administrators. Thus it is claimed that universities already have a built-in administrative board for the very purpose of settling internal disputes. The argument, then, is that to impose a new level of administrative board (labor board) over a campus board of trustees, along with statewide coordinating boards of "regents" creates insufferable con-

fusion as to who is responsible for what — leading to inefficiency and ineffectiveness.

Import: In a few states (e.g., New York), the legislature is the final arbiter of impasses. In other states the labor board is the final arbiter. In some state laws there is no clear definition of the power to resolve impasses. No state has a bargaining law that gives trustees the power of final arbitration, perhaps because it has not been discussed or because trustees were perceived of as being partisan. In any event, the use of strikes as a method of resolving impasse is increasing rapidly and is incurring considerable public disfavor. When trustees lack the power to arbitrate impasses, outside influences will grow in power to condone or to destroy the concept of a self-governing collegial community.

12. What unfair labor practices, if any, should be specified by law?

Discussion: These seems to be general agreement about a number of unfair labor practices that should be prohibited. By and large, these practices relate to discrimination and the use of coercion and undue influence at specified times. The university, however, provides some interesting new considerations. Faculty members participate in a large number of management decisions on most campuses. Should a union, its officers, and/or members be prohibited from exercising undue influence in selecting a new dean? Selecting a new president? Selecting trustees? Should a union be prohibited from negotiating the methods by which management makes its decisions? Should management be prohibited from appointing union members to committees, councils, and commissions delegated with the power to make management decisions? Should a union be prohibited from telling its members (e.g., department chairmen, committees, etc.) not to carry out certain management orders? These are the kinds of issues that, if found in an industrial setting, would often be ruled as unfair practices, yet they are common in the academy.

Import: Since all faculty members are members of the management team (e.g., they discipline students, supervise secretaries, and expend discretionary funds), and some (senior professors) supervise their colleagues' work, a union can actually control by veto or disapproval orders from top management. The assignment by labor boards of department chairmen to union membership has forced many campuses to reorganize their administrative staff and staff assignments. This may or may not be the intent of legislatures as they shape collective bargaining laws. Whatever the intent, it should be made clear so that everyone knows the conditions under which the legislature expects the trustees and administrators to be effective in meeting their obligations as specified by education law.

13. Should unions be given the right of "exclusive" representation?

Discussion: In most existing state bargaining laws, the labor board makes decisions as to whether or not such staff as librarians, part-time faculty, teaching assistants, and admissions personnel shall be included with teaching faculty in a bargaining unit. If these decisions are contrary to those established by the trustees for matters of internal governance (e.g., faculty or campus senate), it has the effect of overriding trustee decisions and creating frictions among the several parties and especially between unions and faculty senates. Senates exist by authority of trustees. Unions ordinarily have the right of "exclusive" representation by authority of labor law. The vitality of senates, then, continues to exist only by the good will of union decision. This may or may not be good — but is it what legislatures meant to accomplish?

Import: The basic question is, who has the right to organize the resources of the university for its effective operation? Labor boards usually decide in favor of management. Yet "exclusivity" clauses deny this management right for purposes of internal relationships among university constituents.

14. Can university trustees successfully fulfill the role usually reserved for labor boards?

Discussion: No bargaining law covering higher education exists in Ohio, yet on at least four state university campuses, *trustees* have determined bargaining units, conducted elections, and authorized presidents to negotiate contracts. This method retains the integrity of the campus community without intervention by labor boards. The experiments will no

doubt have problems, but they may be worth observing and evaluating. The union at Youngstown State University takes great pride in publicizing its contract in the national union's newspaper.

Import: Can the objectives of collective bargaining be achieved within the existing collegial framework of the university without erosion of education law and trustee authority? Carefully planned experiments are needed to determine whether or not employee rights and university authority both can be preserved without external supervision from labor boards.

15. Should a faculty referendum on unionization (yes-no) be held prior to a union election?

Discussion: Analyses of faculty elections (e.g., Pennsylvania state colleges) indicate that, when several unions are on the ballot, voters who prefer "no union" tend to vote for a union rather than "no union" because they do not want to "waste" their votes. The argument is that voters should first face the issue of "union or no union." If the referendum is for a union, then an election among the competing unions can properly determine which union has the majority support. Oregon law has made provision for such a prior referendum. Unions argue that a referendum is a delaying action that confuses the basic issues of the election and sometimes prevents unions from campaigning under proper election conditions.

Import: Some faculty members at unionized campuses claim that if they had had a referendum, there would be no union. They feel that the voters and those who stayed away from the polls did not fully understand the issues and consequences. Legislatures should at least consider the issue and make a clear decision based on reason.

16. Should there be a management rights clause? What should it contain?

Discussion: A management rights clause may or may not be included in legislation. When included it generally comes in two forms: (1) management decisions that are "prohibited" from the bargaining table (nondelegable authority), and (2) management decisions that are "permissible" items of bargaining (at the discretion of management) because they are not specifically "prohibited" by law. Management rights clauses generally have two purposes: to prevent unions from gaining control of specified governmental policy responsibilities, and to strengthen the hand of management in negotiating special sensitive issues essential to managerial functions. There is great variation from state to state.

Unions generally favor no clauses limiting the scope and flexibility of the bargaining process. University spokesmen generally favor long detailed lists of prohibitions in order to know precisely what their authority is.

It generally takes 10 years or so of case decisions by labor boards and courts to clarify the scope of bargaining under any given law. This time dimension is still lacking in most states relative to public sector bargaining but the parts of the puzzle are beginning to materialize (see ACBIS *Special Report 25* on "Scope of Public Sector Bargaining in 14 Selected States").

The new California law adds a special wrinkle through its application of a "restrictive code"-type of clause. Rather than reserve certain rights to management, it specifies the mandatory subjects of bargaining while reserving all other decisions to unilateral management prerogative. Most laws work in the opposite manner: those items not reserved for management are subject to bargaining. Unions generally favor the latter scheme since it provides more latitude at the bargaining table. Higher education spokesmen have had no experience with the California scheme but their comments are favorable.

There is at least one other major concern of university spokesmen and that is the trend toward making the "impact" of management decisions (including those prohibited from bargaining) mandatory subjects of bargaining. An example would be that management has a right in a given state to cut the budget (set the level of expenditures) but must negotiate the "impact" on employees (who shall be affected, etc.). Some university spokesmen claim that negotiating the impact of their decisions delays, confuses, and emasculates their ability to act in a decisive manner.

Import: Unless the clearly specified intent of the legislature is found in the labor law, the effects of negotiation can jeopardize the intent and effect of education law (as well as other law such as civil service and municipal law).

17. Should management "rights" be "permissible" or "mandatory" items of bargaining?

Discussion: As indicated in the discussion above, unless the intent of the legislature is clearly stated in law, many issues arise as to whether or not a particular right is a "permissible" or "prohibited" subject of bargaining. University spokesmen generally feel that unless their rights are protected fully (by prohibition), sooner or later the whipsaw effects of bargaining make all management rights subject to bargaining. Union spokesmen claim that the broader the scope of bargaining, the better it is for both parties, and that more effective agreements can be reached.

Import: The intent of the legislature should be made clear, otherwise the parties follow the directions created by crises and whipsawing.

18. Should students be permitted (required) at the bargaining table?

Discussion: Montana took the first step in requiring student representatives to participate as members of the management team. Oregon assures students the role of observers at the bargaining table and the right to confer with each party at will. Individual institutions in Michigan and Massachusetts have permitted students to observe and comment at the table.

Unions have varied in their past approaches but recently appear to be taking a strong stand against tripartite bargaining and student participation in general.

University spokesmen have taken varying stands in different parts of the country. In general, they are more favorable toward student participation than are union spokesmen.

Import: Legislators should be clear in expressing their intent in the matter since students are organizing strong lobbies to protect and extend their role as bona fide constituents in campus governance.

19. Should the law be carefully researched and evaluated as to its effectiveness?

Discussion: New York and California legislatures left no doubt that a research service should be established to evaluate the effectiveness of the law and that recommendations for improving the law would be expected. Most states lack this element, and, as a result, reliable information is most difficult to obtain in some states.

Import: Any law as important as a labor law should have specified objectives that can be researched and evaluated as a matter of ordinary intent to serve the public welfare. Lacking this element, a law can create labor disharmony rather than harmony and interrupted rather than uninterrupted governmental services.

Honesty in Legislation

For each issue there are several points of view and facts to be carefully considered. As a matter of honesty in legislation, a legislature (in my opinion) should require:

- That each issue be openly discussed and recorded.
- That union representatives and university spokesmen be given equal time to review each issue.
- That each issue be *resolved* by the legislative committee *prior* to writing new legislation, with a clear statement of conclusion and reasons.
- That conflicts with existing civil service, education, and municipal law be clearly delineated and resolved by specific preemptive clauses in the new legislation.
- That where new collective bargaining legislation or its resulting negotiated contracts override the intent of existing law, amendments to the existing law be introduced simultaneously with the new labor legislation, so that all may know the intended impact of the new labor law legislation before it is debated by the full legislature.
- That complete records of committee debates and actions be made available so that labor boards, courts, and arbitrators can have them as a basis for reviewing unfair labor practice charges and grievances.

The Buck Stops Where?: State Responsibility for Postsecondary Education

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Presider: Sen. Gabaldon, Arizona

Where *does* the buck stop? It is a question that ought to be faced — and often is not — every time "institutional autonomy" is mentioned in connection with colleges and universities, and "local control" of elementary and secondary schools and community colleges.

When, as it is in Oregon, 55 to 60 percent of the state's general fund appropriations are allocated to education (kindergarten through graduate school), and in addition, better than 60 percent of the property taxes collected locally go to support common schools and community colleges, it has to follow that the state must exercise some control, require accountability for the expenditure of those vast funds, and have some strong voice in their allocation and use.

Responsibility for Education

In a political system like ours, there really is no doubt, then, about where the "buck" (meaning policy making) and the "buck" (meaning dollars) really stop. They stop with the voters of the state and the local communities.

This is literally true when the people vote directly on budgets and construction bonds of local school districts and community colleges, elect board members and the state superintendent of public instruction, or when they vote — as they must in Oregon — on any major revenue-raising measures. It is very difficult to communicate to them the complexities of the decisions they are called upon to make, but I think they are trying to send us some messages that we in education may not appreciate as legislators do.

Elected Representatives

For higher education and for the allocation of the state's share of basic school support, and funds for community college operations and construction, the buck stops with the people's elected representatives, the governor and the members of the state legislature. It is the state lawmakers who have to make important decisions about the number, location, and enrollment size of public institutions of higher education; about the kinds of instructional programs to be made available to students; about the charges to students for instructional services; about the admission standards and quality of instructional programs; and about the desirable relationships of publicly sponsored higher education to privately sponsored higher education. The entry of the federal government into the states' responsibilities for education has had considerable impact on the programs, access, and funding, and has generated all kinds of additional problems. To date, an effective and satisfactory state-federal partnership has eluded us.

Of the two parts of the political decision-making world, I presume that, even in states with strong governors, the final decisions rest with the members of the state legislature — more specifically, with their budget and appropriations committees, because they hold the purse strings. They attach "budget notes" or

"riders" to appropriation bills, make educational policy through fiscal decisions, determine support levels, and indicate legislative intent in subtle and direct ways.

Leaders of Education

Inside both the education and political worlds, and between them, lie complex, interrelated systems and subsystems of governance, planning, budgeting, control, and regulation. Among those exercising these decision-making processes are the lay governing boards and their staffs, faculty members, administrators, registrars, business officers, and, in recent years, students and coordinating agencies. Then there are accrediting associations, the professions, and all manner of governing committees, senates, staff members, negotiators, and officers, elected or appointed. These are all parts of the diffused governing pattern that the average citizen does not even know about, much less understand. They pass their share of "bucks" along. Increasingly, many cases involving education issues are finding their way to the bargaining tables, the courts, and to the offices of attorney generals for resolution, thus further removing the decision making from traditional settings and adding new hierarchies in what Dr. Lyman Glenny has referred to as "the anonymous leaders of education." The new conflict of interest laws, consumer protection laws, and open meeting or "sunshine" laws have all contributed to new pressures that important education issues must be taken to the courts.

So education is a part of the political world, whether the institutions like it or not. Colleges and universities are inclined to want to isolate themselves from the political process. They are fearful of political controls, of political interference with their academic activities, and with their criticism of social performance. But as long as institutions want increased public funding, higher salaries, lower student-faculty ratios, and more support for faculty research and public service, for better facilities and equipment, for more financial assistance to students, and for lower or stabilized charges to students, they cannot realistically expect to go their own way free of external restraints.

Working relationships between the publicly sponsored colleges, universities, and community colleges and the government that charters and funds them have long been recognized as ambiguous and undefined. "Inducement, coercion, cooperation, and encouragement" go on, and have gone on, constantly, between state government and the institutions of postsecondary education. The boundaries shift with the times, fads, economic conditions, personalities, political atmosphere, and expectations and aspirations of the public and their governmental leaders. It is doubtful if this situation can change.

The boundaries have been further called into question by the widespread movement of teachers toward unionism and collective bargaining, under state laws that authorize such bargaining, with its companion right to strike. Union contracts, which often go beyond the economic issues, are powerful decision-making (goverance) instruments, and they affect materially — or will affect — the question of, who finally decides? and Where does the buck really stop?

It is hardly necessary to add that no two states are exactly alike in their traditions, demographic patterns, or political and governing or regulatory structures, but the striving for providing cost-effective, quality educational opportunities and the accountability they seek are generally typical.

Coordinating Agencies

As a member of one of the state-wide educational coordinating agencies, I want to discuss this issue from their point of view. I begin by asking, Why, if we all really know where the buck stops, and we all understand and appreciate the state's responsibility for providing access to educational opportunities, consider the issue? What has changed? What has been called into question? In tackling the problems of the relationships between the coordinating agency and the institutions on the one hand and the lawmakers on the other, I am aware that almost everything I say will be controversial, or at least questionable from someone else's viewpoint. I should summarize my professional background, so that some of my biases can be kept in perspective. I have been a high school teacher, an elected local school board member, and an appointed member for 13 years of the Oregon State Board of Higher Education, which is the single governing-coordinating body for the senior institutions. I am a recent appointee of Governor Straub to the newly created Oregon Educational Coordinating Commission, and I was a member of the Educational Coordinating Council, which the Commission replaced by legislative act in 1975. This year I am chairman of the Association of Governing Boards of Colleges and Universities, and I am also one of the 15 members of the advisory board to the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education, a fairly independent foundation under the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Presumably, I should not omit citing my close relationship to my state representative in the Oregon legislature, as I am the wife of a six-term assemblyman, who last session was a member of the Education Subcommittee of the Joint Ways and Means Committee (Appropriations) and is presently serving on the Emergency Board, which acts for the Legislative Assembly in the period between sessions.

A second reason for making reference to my background is to offer assurance that in anything I say I do not speak for any of the groups with which I am affiliated — and, most certainly, not for my legislator-husband nor for any legislator. Given the present state of affairs, I doubt that anyone could represent a "board" or a "commission's position." It is just as difficult to get consensus among governing board members these days as anywhere else.

Parenthetically, I might add that educational boards lately have been calling for the evaluation of institutions, of teaching, of learning (competencies), and of chief executive officers. Many of us believe they should attempt to evaluate their own performance and their capacities to deal with the future in light of the rapidly changing educational and economic scene. Admittedly, to require boards to evaluate themselves poses a difficult task, and it may have to be undertaken through the use of outside evaluators, but it cannot be sidestepped or avoided. There are national studies underway that should provide guidance.

But, with all the problems, have not the American public, parents, and schools provided well for education, until now, at least? Of course. The record is clear. Our long history of opening doors to a great variety of educational opportunities and providing generously to pay for them is well known. Public faith in higher education has been high — maybe unrealistically so, and it has fostered the willingness to provide the necessary resources, human and financial.

Realities in Education

Then what has changed? Basically, the new realities that now force a reexamination of some of the traditional, comfortable assumptions made about education can be summed up in six points:

1. The prospect of leveling off and then declining enrollments, at least of the usual college-age group, resulting in a "volatile steady state" of enrollments and a pursuit of older learners to keep enrollments up. This will seriously affect educational planning and points up the need for more current and useful data on such things as what is happening, student migration patterns, and the relationship of financial aid to completing a program.

2. The prospects of a declining employment market for greatly increased percentages of college graduates and the growing mismatch between the level of education and available so-called "good job" openings.

3. The prospects of stringent budgets because education will have to compete, at a lower priority, with social and domestic services for the limited tax dollars that now buy less because of inflation.

4. The increasing unrest and frustration of faculties because of fewer openings in the teaching field and the growing movement toward unionization and the exercise of strong political power.

5. The increased volume of expressed dissatisfaction on the part of the general public with the outcomes (the "product") of education at all levels, and a consequent reluctance on their part to provide additional massive support. The public is reacting negatively to news such as reports of declining scores on achievement tests, inflated grades, vandalism, duplication, abuses of federal programs, and cheating. This may be the most significant.

6. The prospects of having to plan for retrenchment when educational thinking and funding formulas have been designed for growth. Education has become a big growth business, a desirable smokeless industry.

The markedly changed public attitudes and mistrust have put the education establishment into its weakest political position in years. This has not helped governors, legislators, or politicians in general. Nonetheless, they have the responsibility for financing state agencies in the public's interest. In most states, they cannot exercise the profligate and deficit spending their counterparts on the national scene have engaged in for so many years; they have to balance the budgets in most states because they meet the people back home on the hustings every day.

They, too, need professional and practical advice. Their problems have been piling up — not only more of them, but stickier. The results of a recent study by the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures under a grant from the HEW Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education points up the dimensions of some of legislatures' problems in dealing with all of education. The study was directed toward "Understanding Postsecondary Policy Development in Selected State Legislatures" and followed the course of three key educational bills from introduction to passage through the legislatures in Illinois, Virginia, Indiana, and Washington.

Among the findings were the following: (1) that most legislatures, whether highly developed or not, instead of formulating policies independently rely on the institutions and coordinating boards to submit pro-

posals to them and then respond to those proposals; (2) that much of educational policy was established not so much with regard to actual and emerging public needs, but rather by the availability of funds; (3) that policy is set by the financial committees to a greater degree than by the education committees; and (4) that some legislation that affected postsecondary education (actually, any level of education) would not be recognized as such, and, accordingly, would not be considered by the education committees.

During the regular session, under pressures of time and political constraints, appropriations committees have said that they need to get a handle on the budgets so they can try to save some money. How can we understand, they ask, what these big compressed "base budgets" are buying when they are brought to us separately from the three segments of public education (elementary, secondary, and higher education), unanalyzed, and unrelated to each other and to the anticipated financial resources? How much does it cost to educate a biology major? Can better education be bought for the same dollars, or can the same education be bought for fewer dollars? Appropriations committees need independent advice and recommendations.

Education committees, however, are interested in the broader issues of education policy. They are not necessarily concerned about saving money, but rather in trying to improve quality and access and governance. Increasingly, members of education committees are educators or former educators. When legislation that they believe has educational implications is amended or dies in the appropriations committees, they become very frustrated. They need independent advice on the larger educational issues.

Legislative committees get plenty of advice, and there is an almost overwhelming volume of data, information, and formula-driven estimates on their desks. If it comes, however, as it has come, from national statistics or data from the institutions or their segmental governing boards, it is too general or (understandably) biased in favor of their institutions. The accounting procedures are not uniform, and unit costs cannot be compared even within the segments or within the institutions themselves. Often, budgets represent a sum of the parts, or they emphasize the add-ons, and they are never adequate, according to the educators. To close one's eyes and listen to the pleas in almost every governing board room and in every state capitol, one would have to believe that the home institution or state compared unfavorably in almost every respect with others, that the institutions are underfunded, the faculty underpaid and overworked, the students underserved and overcharged, and the buildings inadequate and distressfully maintained and repaired. Legislators are told by educators, "If we don't have enough money, the 'quality' will be threatened."

That there has not been any demonstrable evidence that would directly link dollars invested to high-quality performance has not deterred the volume or the vehemence of the arguments. Admittedly, there ought to be, and is, some connection. Educators have tended to link quality to such quantitative indicators as numbers of Ph.D.'s on the faculty, numbers of volumes in the library, number of degrees granted (paying slight attention to attrition and dropouts or placement of graduates), student-faculty ratios, average faculty salaries (without accompanying tables showing workload), tenured status, and staffing patterns. Duplication has been defended as "necessary duplication" or part of an essential "critical mass." "Proliferation" has simply meant "access to a broader range of educational opportunities." The FTE-driven funding formulas, which provided booming appropriations during booming growth years, seem now to encourage an institution going off campus and competing for students and to increase the inequities among institutions and within them. Financial assistance in the hands of students has been both a blessing and a burden (particularly to independent schools). Strangely enough, now it seems to be filling social purposes in addition to educational and training ends. This past fall, in the midst of economic problems, unemployment, and family instabilities, more students showed up on college rolls than had been anticipated. Why? Partly, of course, because the availability of GI benefits was running out; it was also because of greatly increased student financial assistance from both federal and state sources. Is all of this just a different form of public subsidy to help take care of the unemployed, the financially "needy," the displaced who find status, social contacts, and services on campuses? It is one way of explaining the increased enrollment this fall, and it requires asking, Was this fall's experience an aberration, or is it a reflection of a new pattern of public assistance?

The governor has his staff of financial analysts and budget formulators. His unified state budget, presented as a whole package to the legislature, has made the executive staff a critical factor in the control pattern affecting education. The legislature has countered by creating its own legislative fiscal office. The staffs of both have become larger and more sophisticated to match the professional expertise in the offices of educational administration.

What is clearly indicated and is needed by both the governor and the legislature — and by the institutions and segments as well — is a reliable source of standardized data and information applicable to the state;

of unbiased analysis, comparable unit cost estimates, common definitions and accounting charts and recommendations that are based on a statewide perspective, the public's interests, and ability to finance.

When there were not such sources of independent judgment available, and when there was recognition that the legislature really could not (and had no desire to) perform as a state-level board of education or higher education but yet wanted the educational issues clearly built into state budgets, statewide coordinating and planning agencies were established or strengthened. In the years since 1960 such agencies have increased in numbers to the point that they now exist in 47 states, and their responsibilities and powers have grown from "voluntary" to "advisory only" to "regulatory" and even "governing" in some states.

These agencies are usually responsible for the state's master plan on postsecondary education. They generally review, evaluate, and approve new programs, new locations and new degrees, and sometimes have the final authority. They look for ways to control unnecessary and unwise duplication, proliferation, and competition. They gather data and information, analyzing and comparing it from a statewide educational and fiscal perspective. They ask hard questions. They establish common criteria and definitions, try to see that all institutions are responding to the same questions and criteria, attempt to analyze the impact of federal funds on state funding requirements, and review budgets and make recommendations. Their board members increasingly are lay persons, knowledgeable about education, not directly connected with or employed by an education entity. They are not advocates for institutions or segments.

Responsibility for administering one or more federal programs and acting as the Oregon's 1202 Commission under the Higher Education Amendments of 1972 generally rests with the coordinating boards, though in other respects they do not administer directly. It is generally agreed that the day-by-day operations and administrative functions must be kept as close to the operational levels as possible.

Will these relatively new types of governance, coordinating, and planning structures work? Will they bring about more cooperation, better planning, and increased articulation between and among institutions and segments? Will they be able to exercise and promote the kind of leadership that will encourage greater responsiveness and leadership from existing boards, agencies, and institutions? Will they lead to any saving of public funds? Will their advice and recommendations serve the needs of the lawmakers? Can the system be made to work, in view of the differing perceptions of the roles and responsibilities, and a kind of identity crisis for all groups concerned?

The answer, I presume, depends upon whom you ask — and where you ask. Some of the powers and responsibilities assigned to coordinating agencies are delegations of their own powers by the legislature and the governor, and they are understandably wary. Certainly coordinating agencies are not the favorites of the educational establishments and their staffs. In fact, they are often seen as threatening and described as another (and useless) "layer of bureaucracy" — or as foot-in-the-door "superboards." The press has generally exhibited a doubting Thomas attitude, although admitting that some kind of coordination and improvements in performance and accountability are an urgent need.

A realistic, unselfish examination has to be made and answers found for the questions of, Who should pay? For what? Where? How much? and For how long? These are not institutional questions, nor are they for publicly sponsored institutions alone. They are not simply fiscal questions. They go to the heart of issues such as equity, access, diversity of options, survival of institutions, and employment.

Occupying a middle "no-man's land" position as they do, between the agencies and bureaucracies of state government on one hand and the powerful education institutions and bureaucracies on the other, the chief job of coordinating agencies is to establish communication, cooperation, confidence, and credibility with both. Their job is to recommend and advise — not govern. In the last analysis, the decisions will be made by the lawmakers, and they will be political ones.

And what if the coordinating agencies do not succeed in carrying out their assignments? I believe Richard Millard of the Education Commission of the States was correct when he said,

> . . . to the extent that cooperation and coordination among institutions and state agencies have been less than effective for whatever reasons, legislators, governors, and state budget officers have not been hesitant to move directly into institutional affairs — witness legislation respecting faculty workload, tenure and transfer policies. . . . They are likely to increase if institutional representatives refuse to make decisions complementary to and in cooperation with each other and with appropriate state higher or postsecondary educational agencies. The real danger is that responsibility for planning and coordination of postsecondary education will pass out of the hands of state agencies created for this purpose and move into the hands of general state planning agencies, for whom education does not constitute the first priority, or directly into executive and legislative control.

How the West Was One: Alternative Means of Providing Access to Postsecondary Education

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Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education

Presider: Dr. Hoehnlen, Hawaii

It will come as no great surprise to westerners when I mention certain significant facts.

The western states are committed to higher education — or to postsecondary education, if you will — and they do more than talk about commitment. They appropriate dollars to prove it.

Comparing 1975-1976 appropriations for higher education to those for 1973-1974, 10 of 13 WICHE states recorded percentage increases in appropriations above the national average. *All* 13 WICHE states exceeded the national average in appropriations per capita. *All* 13 WICHE states are above the national average for appropriations per $1,000 of income.

Dedication to education is not the issue. Regional dedication to education is clearly demonstrated historically as well as practically by observation of the levels of those appropriations.

The issues before us today are what we receive for the money we spend, which priorities we choose to establish through funding, how to deliver services more effectively and efficiently, and what proportion of the education dollar to devote to professional education.

Westerners are in philosophical agreement that education is important and desirable. And that it is a costly investment! Our regional commitment to education is both strengthened and complicated by the reality of perceived needs for trained manpower and by the recognition that the dispersed populations of this vast geographic region make it extremely difficult to plan for and to offer educational services in each state.

A quarter century ago, the western governors agreed upon the desirability of developing a regional plan for providing services in the health field. For 22 years, the western region has provided for access to professional education through a Student Exchange Program administered by the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education (WICHE). When the Western Regional Education Compact was drafted in 1950, each of the compacting states pledged to each of the other compacting states full cooperation in carrying out the purposes of the Compact.

The language of the Compact states that "Many of the western states individually do not have sufficient numbers of potential students to warrant the establishment and maintenance within their borders of adequate facilities in all the essential fields of technical, professional, and graduate training, nor do all states have the financial ability to furnish within their borders institutions capable of providing acceptable standards of training in all of the fields mentioned." The Compact declares that "western states or groups of states within the region cooperatively can provide an acceptable and efficient educational facility to meet the needs of the region and of the students thereof. . . ."

WICHE was created through enactment of the Compact. All 13 western states are members today. To

the Commission was assigned the responsibility for negotiations concerning cost. "The Commission shall, after negotiations with interested institutions, determine the cost of providing the facilities for graduate and professional education. . . ."

The first program effort to be approved by the Commission under provisions of the Compact was for placement of students in professional schools of medicine, dentistry, and veterinary medicine. In academic year 1975-1976, 1,147 students crossed state lines, and their sending states spent more than $4.3 million in support of their education endeavors at 90 regional schools.

Initially, the thrust of WICHE's Student Exchange Programs (SEP) was in the health professions. However, the history of the program has demonstrated that, when additional needs were identified by one or more of the compacting states, the Commission endorsed other fields for inclusion.

Today, professional education is available through the SEP in 14 fields — medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine, dental hygiene, physical therapy, occupational therapy, optometry, podiatry, law, forestry, graduate library studies, pharmacy, graduate nursing education, and public health.

A total of 135 professional schools have agreed to enroll qualified WICHE students. The schools maintain that professional education has been well served by the presence of WICHE students. They are often referred to as "the cream of the crop." The institutions are also aware that they realize more income for each WICHE student than for other students enrolled.

Both private and public institutions throughout the West have benefited from the presence of WICHE students. Since the WICHE support fee is related to the student's acceptance of an offer of admission, there has been no problem in forwarding funds through WICHE to the excellent private schools of the West. Approximately one-third of the students enrolled through the SEP are enrolled in private institutions, a great resource to the region in providing for professional education. The public institutions enroll the remaining two-thirds.

From the very first it was agreed that SEP would not be an end in itself but a means for supplying educational services. The existence of SEP has not prevented the establishment of new professional programs in the compacting states, but rather it assisted the states in planning for phasing in a new school at an appropriate time. Through the SEP, a reservoir of well-qualified applicants has been identified from which to draw in establishing new schools in the health professions and in maintaining existing schools at a high level of academic and professional excellence. The cooperative regional approach has proved to be a positive factor in securing federal funds for capital construction projects.

Since SEP was first established, new medical schools have opened in New Mexico, Arizona, California, Hawaii, and Nevada. A new dental school has been established in Colorado. Wyoming is now planning for establishment of a medical school.

The University of Washington has designed a regional medical program, WAMI, which provides health care services and clinical experience in four states as well as medical education in each of the cooperating states. A Regional Veterinary Program is under active development at Colorado State University with full participation of western have-not states. We expect the first students in the Regional Veterinary Program to enroll in 1976. A Tri-State Veterinary Plan is under active consideration in Washington, Oregon, and Idaho. These subregional efforts in a specific field have been planned in full view of all compacting states in order to address specific needs.

Cooperative endeavors have taken many forms and directions in the history of the Student Exchange Programs as western states have worked together to respond to emerging needs. At the present time, WICHE administers other exchange programs that encourage the movement of students across state lines. These programs are the Mineral Engineering Program and the Community College Student Exchange Program. Sending-state money does not follow the student, but there is a benefit to the student of permitting payment of resident tuition in addition to the benefit of obtaining access to an educational opportunity. Participating schools are able to utilize more fully their available spaces.

At the present time, WICHE is coordinating a state-by-state assessment of needs in graduate education. Thus, if state educational requirements are not being met at home in graduate education, we are working to provide educational services and opportunities elsewhere within the region under a Fellows program. Planning for a regional flow of students in graduate education requires intense, purposeful regional cooperation and planning to balance needs and opportunities — access needs in one or more states against opportunities for full utilization of existing centers of excellence in other states. After launching the Fellows program in graduate education, we will move on to a parallel effort in vocational-technical education.

Under the leadership of the WICHE Commission, exchange models have now been conceived and planned

to provide both immediate and long-range response to Compact state requirements for placement of students. Under the WICHE umbrella a state may meet an obligation to its citizens to provide education or respond to a manpower need unique to that state.

Some of our exchange plans require appropriation of state funds to follow the student. The traditional exchange in professional education and the WICHE Scholars program have appropriation requirements, for example. However, state participation in the WICHE Fellows program (graduate education) or TECH program (vocational-technical) involves foregone income — the differential between nonresident and resident tuition income for a specified number of regional students enrolled in designated programs. In exchange, the participating state receives an equivalent number of places elsewhere in the region.

Whether implementation of exchanges involves transfer of dollars, regional planning for offering and locating educational services, or agreeing to forego income as a cost of participation, there are two other essential ingredients that we must include to make our regional exchange work for us. They are mutual respect and faith in each other.

I am convinced that the array of exchange models now available makes it possible for every state to select educational opportunities within the region as a viable, practical alternative to offering and funding each academic, professional, or vocational discipline within home-state boundaries.

That is not to say that our cooperative regional efforts have no inherent problems associated with them. Trust and openness seem harder to come by these days! Equity in admissions is a problem. Equity in costing is a problem. Changing interpretation in residency is a problem. The lack of sophistication in costing techniques in professional education has been a problem. Intrastate pressure to accept resident students in high-demand fields is a problem. Necessary legislative response to inflation through appropriation of support fees is a problem. Anticipating emerging needs in education is a problem.

In addition, the sending states have identified two large problems. One problem is that all their certified applicants desiring placement are not admitted to professional schools. Another problem is that too few sponsored students return home to practice.

The first concern is universal and is heard also in states where professional education is offered at a state university. The professional schools insist that their admissions committee be confident and assured of the academic and professional promise of each applicant. The second concern has to do with the maldistribution of professional services. Securing, deploying, and holding trained manpower are all parts of a complex problem that is not likely to be solved overnight. Indenture of services has been held unconstitutional. Attracting professional service rather than indenturing that service seems to offer greater promise of success.

Certainly each Compact state must consider the benefits and problems associated with placement of students beyond their own boundaries in the perspective of providing services to meet needs. Recently, individual professional schools and one or more Compact states have raised the question about replacing the regional cooperative approach with a "go-it-alone" system of bilateral contracts in which a state secures places at professional schools in a field where educational services are desired. The contracting state and school agree on a fee and a specific number of places secured through contractual arrangement for a specified period of time. Such plans have attraction for a sending state because places are guaranteed.

As director of the WICHE Student Exchange Programs, I have great admiration for each Compact state and its efforts to secure required educational services. I salute the determination and devotion to purpose which I observe.

But I would be less than candid if I did not point out that a short-range gain for one state may prove disasterous to the concept of regional cooperation and in the end destroy the cooperative framework that we have worked so hard and so long to develop. The imminent danger of competitive bidding to secure places is very real, in my mind.

Our challenge is to do something about the regional shortage of places — particularly in medicine, dentistry, and veterinary medicine. And our most productive and constructive efforts should be directed toward increasing the pool of places available to WICHE applicants. While any one state may satisfy its own requirements by cornering the market with a high bid, what happens when that state is outbid in a subsequent go-round for places?

As a woman with strong maternal instincts, I say without embarrassment that I love this WICHE family of states. I look for and work for realization and fulfillment of each state's highest potential and of its aspirations for its citizens and for the future.

I plead the cause of family solidarity and the importance of strengthening family ties. We may have arguments and disagreements, we may experience stress

in a family disagreement, but family we are and family should we remain! What happens to affect one state adversely affects us all.

I ask for your help and understanding in addressing the problems that face us now.

I propose that we focus cooperatively on increasing the number of places available in professional education.

How?

One strategy is to make the WICHE support fee a fee that equitably reimburses the receiving institution for costs of education not reimbursed by other income sources. We must be competitive in our fee and in our thinking about the fee. Then the support fee must be adjusted more frequently. We have always used a common fee (by field) as the WICHE standard. Ultimately, we may need to consider the common fee as one charged all participants at one school rather than a common fee applied evenly across all schools in one field.

A second strategy is to identify projected manpower needs, state by state, and work with receiving institutions to accommodate those needs.

A third strategy is to plan regionally for expansion of existing schools or to plan regionally for establishment of new facilities.

It is my opinion that shared enrollment opportunities must be tied to shared funding responsibilities.

WICHE staff are undertaking the first regional interdisciplinary costing study in connection with the WICHE Commission review of adequacy of support fees planned for August 1976. In preparing the survey document, we have had advice and counsel from representatives of a statewide planning agency, the western legislative analysts, institutional administrators responsible for budget and planning, and deans of both health and nonhealth professional programs. When it is completed we will have information never before available to us concerning costs of education within a professional discipline and a comparison of the costs of education among the professions.

Legislators should know that we are identifying capitation, tuition payments by the student, and income from all sources. We are also identifying operating costs, indirect costs, patient care costs necessary to education, and brick and mortar costs. When the WICHE Commission meets in August we will have more specific information for them to consider than ever before.

If the notion of providing access to education regionally appeals to common sense as an alternative to building and providing for each field within each state, it may be asked what legislators can do to help.

Sometimes we need appropriations to make access possible. Just as often we need help and understanding in removing a statutory barrier.

I applaud the sincerity of legislators who work to improve educational opportunity for the young people of their states. I appreciate those hard, tough, time-consuming efforts. If the legislators ask for information from the Student Exchange Programs office, we will always do our best to respond. Please know that the WICHE SEP exists to serve the western states, institutions, legislators and young people.

If the West is to continue "one," we must make even greater efforts to know and understand each others' problems. We have much more in common than we have differences that separate us.

The West was "won" a century ago. Let us devote our centennial and bicentennial efforts to keeping it "one": one in purpose, spirit, and accomplishment.

I Came Back: Lifelong Learning

Dr. Martha E. Church
President, Hood College

Presider: Sen. Rector, Wyoming

"In a declining youth market, adults of all ages can make higher education once again a growth industry." This conclusion, drawn by Fred M. Hechinger in the September 20, 1975, issue of the *Saturday Review*, sets the stage for an exploration of some of the issues involved in lifelong learning.

An analysis of trends in birth rates, college-going (the percent of high school graduates going to college) rates, and college enrollments (actual enrollment of persons in college) tend to support Hechinger's observation, but the literature of higher education contains considerable disagreement among authors about the probable number of people in colleges and universities in the next two decades. One fact is evident, however. The Census Bureau predicts a 21.6 percent drop in 18- to 21-year-old persons between 1979 and 1993. In light of this, persons of differing ages and educational attainments are becoming increasingly attractive as potential students at our colleges and universities throughout the United States. In short, these persons are the "new clientele" in higher or postsecondary education. They include CPAs who must take courses to retain licenses, middle-aged women who wish to complete degrees, as well as retired persons seeking personal enrichment. In short, all ages with a variety of education needs are in this new group of adult learners.

One should not overlook the fact, though, that many adult learners are not being taught and may never be taught in our colleges and universities. The Commission on Non-Traditional Study concluded in 1973 that there are 10 to 12 times as many learners outside our institutions as there are within. These persons are taking courses or refresher work within business, industry, voluntary organizations, and the military. Others are involved in governmental programs or have signed up for courses within the proprietary sector and/or with correspondence schools. Only recently have educational organizations begun to bridge the gaps among these varying groups. For example, the Project on Noncollegiate-Sponsored Instruction, conducted by the American Council on Education and the Board of Regents of the Univeristy of the State of New York and funded by the Carnegie Corporation and the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education, is assessing courses offered by industries or voluntary organizations and is assigning credit equivalencies for use by colleges and universities across the country.

The professions are contributing to this changing picture of who is learning and where this learning is taking place. In response to the need to upgrade or retrain individuals who are responsible for our health and safety, a number of legislatures have passed laws requiring periodic retraining in several of the professions. Though these actions have been taken to make sure professionals are keeping abreast of new knowledge in their fields, we must be vigilant about monitoring these efforts so that such requirements do not become meaningless within a few years.

By the time the Commission on Non-Traditional Study completed its work in 1973, it had already shared a number of its ideas either in position papers or in conference settings. Thus, the idea of lifelong learning was already familiar to many of us in higher education when the first publications of the Commission (see the bibliography attached to this paper) began to appear on our desks. Though this concept of lifelong learning is not new, it was presented in 1973 in a fresh context which included some of the notions listed below:

1. Students are placed first instead of the institution.
2. Individual students needs, interests, and backgrounds must be recognized by institutions and/or programs.
3. Better integration of existing educational resources and services should be emphasized.
4. More off-campus social institutions should be used, if at all possible, as educational setting.
5. Nonacademic personnel should be considered for possible adjunct faculty positions.
6. Faculty should be encouraged to be facilitators of learning, mentors, or tutors.
7. Students should be provided with a wider and more diversified range of educational options and alternatives.
8. Modern technology and multi-media approaches should be expanded where possible.
9. Program objectives should be more fully defined, and emphasis should be placed on demonstrating proficiencies or competencies related to these objectives.
10. Institutions should move, where possible, to decrease their emphases on courses, credits, grades, time limits, and residency requirements.

Institutions across the country have responded to these notions in a variety of ways. In some cases, new programs have been developed, whereas in other cases, whole new structures have been created in response to the Commission's reports.

Lifelong learning, therefore, has brought new life to continuing education programs and evening divisions at most of our colleges and universities. It has spurred the creation of a number of new weekend "colleges," evening programs, alumnae/alumni colleges, and other part-time formats. Railroad cars are even being used along some commuter lines for courses! In Frank Dickey's words, we can expect to see all of the following in the near future:

"1. Fewer lockstep courses and credit requirements within our traditional institutions
2. Easier student transfer policies
3. Fewer parochial standards
4. More national norms of achievement
5. Fewer disciplinary rigidities
6. More flexibility within institution."

As institutions become more responsive to student needs, the issue of quality control becomes all the more important. How is counseling monitored? How is prior learning assessed? By whom? Against what frames of reference? How are educational/learning contracts developed and by whom are they reviewed? What are the actual levels of instructional materials which have been developed? What overall assessment procedures are used to get at program effectiveness? How are the performances of mentors, tutors, and facilitators assessed? In addition, other institutions have been established which require exposure to systematic instructional services of faculty. What is new may be any one or all of the following characteristics:

1. Competencies and skills are assessed for credit, including prior experience.
2. Faculty provide extensive advising services.
3. The timing and delivery of services may vary considerably.
4. Facilities may or may not be provided.

As must be evident, the student appears to come first in each of these nontraditional models.

How can these efforts to respond to lifelong learning be viewed by persons who must take responsibility for funding some of these programs and/or institutions, and for spurring thinking in some of these new directions? Program duplication or overlap must be considered by statewide planning agencies. The fact that licensing needs might prompt widespread program developments must be watched carefully so that only valid needs are required to be met. Statewide planning will require careful attention to the mission statements of institutions as the new clientele may lure some institutions into attempting to provide all things to all persons. In addition, institutions in one state are going to find it attractive to offer external degree programs or off-campus programs in other states. Monitoring these efforts is a massive job and will only grow as institutions become increasingly interested in meeting new student needs. Some institutions will do this well, but others may stretch their resources too thinly to do the job well. Who will assist the adult learner in sorting

out the strong from the weak programs? Finally, the issue of financing institutions which are markedly different in structure from educational institutions we know will be a challenge to legislators all across the country. I have in mind the problem of defining faculty loads for the mentors who teach no courses. (Consider what Empire State College of the State University of New York has done in this area.) How should the student who is working on demonstrating competencies rather than on fulfilling a list of course requirements be considered in funding formulas? Again, what of the part-time student and his or her needs? What of consortial relationships? How supportive should legislators and state agencies be of such efforts?

Perhaps the most fundamental question relates to legislation already on your books — or which should be on your books — to guard against diploma mills. In other words, the nontraditional movement has given rise, unfortunately, to marginal operations which border in some cases on the fraudulent. The Education Commission of the States has prepared model legislation in this area and is prepared to offer advice on this vitally important issue to legislators.

"I came back" and I find many opportunities but also many problems still to be overcome!

A Brief Bibliography on Lifelong Learning

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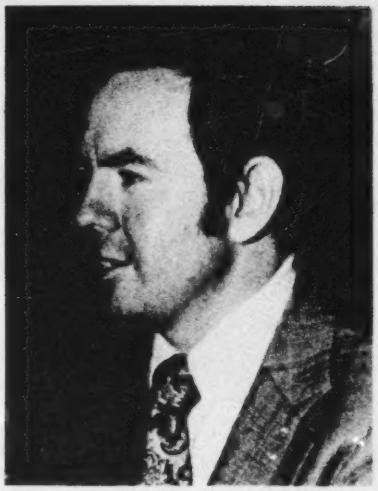
The Unbudget: State Support for Postsecondary Education in Times of Financial Stringency



Dr. George B. Weathersby
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Presider: Sen. Leavitt, Utah

I would like to identify some of the broad policy alternatives that I see state governments having available to them to deal with major issues of the next decade. The period from 1975 to 1980 will be a watershed period in American postsecondary education. The past two decades are particularly poor as predictors of the next decades. We have emerged from a period of enormous growth and expansion and we are entering a period of substantial contraction. The future has yet to be shaped.

There are few rigid patterns currently being imposed on postsecondary education. There is a tremendous opportunity in the next two or three years to exert positive leadership to construct the postsecondary education system of the next 14 or 20 years, and there is a very important role of state policy involved in that shaping process. The state is the only governmental level where considerations of institutions, students, federal policies, and financing all coalesce. This is why the states potentially have the most leverage in determining the future of postsecondary education. The main instrument in establishing state policy is clearly the budgetary and program review process. Although there is much talk about money today, the topic is really not money, but rather the future of postsecondary education.

State Alternatives

I want to suggest some of the reasons that this is a peak time for postsecondary education and some of the alternatives that this suggests to me. The rate of growth of the 18- to 21-year-old group is clearly over; the peak will be in 1979-1981, depending upon the state. Currently, more than half of degree credit students are attending school on a part-time basis, and more than two-thirds of the postsecondary participants are adults in nondegree programs. This latter condition has been existing for some time. Yet we have just begun to collect statistics in ways that recognize if those who are involved in state government know that state priorities for postsecondary education have dropped from high to low on most people's agendas. The general expansion of the last 20 years is being replaced by very selective growth and some selective pruning of institutional programs as well.

The open access and student choice promises of the last decade are being seriously reconsidered, and states have been much less willing to support postsecondary education than before. We have had an ongoing argument in the last 5 years about the major benefits of education being individual and not social, implying that the major costs should be borne by the individual and not by society. The effectiveness of postsecondary education in solving social problems is very much being questioned. The aftermath of the Great Society will undoubtedly be a lower and more realistic expectation of what education is able to do.

The issue of tenure and faculty employment security also is being very seriously questioned. Academic freedom is not a rallying cry anymore; what you now

hear is job security. Collective bargaining is being implemented on a wide basis in every state that has passed legislation allowing public collective bargaining and it is going to effect a major change in how states relate to institutions and their employees.

The long-term rise in real disposable income may very well be over very shortly. This is because the discretionary part of real disposable income that could go to the purchase of consumption goods and services is going to be increasingly demanded by the exploding price of energy and by the price of necessary goods and services in our society. The remainder, from which most consumption including education will come, is going to be smaller. This is a bleak picture, although there are examples in individual states that differ from these general trends. This view suggests to me that the kind of future that we are heading into is going to differ substantially from the past that we have just experienced. We should be considering the possible responses states could make to this future that are more appropriate to where we are going than where we have been.

Alternative Responses

Status Quo

I can suggest four alternative state responses to this changing environment. The first one, which I think is most likely to be the one chosen and certainly the one most frequently advocated, is the status quo. After all, what is wrong with what we are doing? On any kind of international comparison, we are clearly far ahead of any other country in terms of postsecondary participation, in terms of formal training, in terms of the proportion of our labor force that is college educated. Now one out of eight Americans in the labor force has 4 years of college or more; that will rise to about one out of six at the end of this decade. What could possibly be wrong with that? We could continue our mixture of coordinating and governing structures at the state level, and we could look at state institutional subsidies as being proportional to enrollment, probably full-time degree-credit enrollment and, in some places, full-time-equivalent enrollment. We could continue our concern for student aid and establish prices for college based on family financial need rather than on the service provided.

Probably the status quo will continue to involve increasingly stringent budget reviews by state legislators, by committees, by executive agencies, and by governing structures themselves. Budgets will be pared to fit political and fiscal realities of a state's financial situation that in some places is extremely negative. That is the status quo model, and later I will return to why I think it is unlikely to be acceptable. Let me suggest three alternatives to the status quo.

Fee for Service

The second alternative state response is a fee-for-services model. In this model, the state buys educational services from a variety of organizations — public or private institutions, government agencies, or in some states like Massachusetts, profit-making firms licensed to grant master's and other degrees. The key distinction of the fee-for-services model is that the state purchases a service rather than supports an institution. As long as the state is in the institutional support business, the only question is whether more or less support is provided, not what kind of services are being purchased. In the fee-for-service model, the government's role becomes one of quality control (that is, what kind of service the state is buying) and consumer information (that is, what kind of information the state provides for the ultimate recipients of these services), rather than a role of institutional management.

Currently, there is an increasing demand for consumer information, particularly with experience in the proprietary sector where there is a fee-for-services model. One might logically expect these same demands to be extended to public institutions. Public institutions are being asked to disclose their placement rates, their rate of repayment of loans, and so forth. However, this is a schizophrenic position: on the one hand, we are concerned about basic institutional survival, while, on the other hand, we are adopting a set of policies appropriate for a consumer demand driven fee-for-service model.

Withdrawal of State Sponsorship

The third alternative state response is for the state to divest itself of its state-sponsored institutions. States could endow colleges and universities with their existing physical plant or the funds committed to pay for it. Many public institutions have sizable financial endowments, faculties in place, reputations established, and identities secured. They have the best start any new venture could imagine and thus should be allowed to continue as nonprofit institutions responsible for their own futures.

This alternative would leave colleges and universities free to set their own tuition, to establish their own programs, to seek gifts in their own way, and to enter into contracts the way that they now do. The role of the state would be to see to what extent charter provisions were being maintained, to monitor the extent to which the pattern of student enrollment was consistent with the needs of the state (either in the sense of particular skills or social equities), and to purchase the needed research and development that they might seek, just as they might purchase research from the Rand Corporation or General Electric.

From the institutional perspective, the attractiveness of divestiture is clearly that schools would have an opportunity of setting their own courses. Governing boards could in fact be governing boards, rather than negotiating boards; executives and legislative structures within colleges might actually decide upon and implement policies.

Institutional Unbundling

A fourth alternative state response to consider is the unbundling of the educational functions that are currently offered by an institution. Currently, postsecondary educational institutions conduct a multiplicity of functions whose separability should be acknowledged.

The first function is assessing prior educational achievement. Where have people been, what do people know, and what kind of academic credit do they bring with them? The capacity for assessing prior educational achievement is particularly important as people transfer from one institution to another and as individuals of different ages go in and out of the educational system seeking training.

Second is the function of academic advising. What kind of skills does one need and what kind of academic program should one follow within an institution?

Third is the function of career counseling. What kinds of careers make sense in the next 5 or 10 years? If some career-preparation patterns take 5, 10, or 15 years to complete, what kind of guidance is there about the future that that path is leading toward? What kind of flexibility patterns are built into a particular career? When does it make sense to retrain?

Fourth is the function of instruction. Traditionally, instruction is what colleges and universities claim they do best; instruction is what happens when people sit in rows and somebody in front of the class lectures to them. The state of New York has now recognized that instruction occurs in many different ways, and the Department of Education has gone into a variety of firms and organizations that provide inservice instruction, evaluated the college credit equivalency of that instruction, and mapped it into a traditional curriculum framework. Now one can take accounting and finance from the American Institute of Banking, and police science from the New York Police Department, and so forth. In combination with the Regents' External Degree, people can get a bachelor's degree from the state of New York without ever enrolling in a college in that state and without ever taking time off from their jobs. To this extent, New York has legitimated learning as distinct from teaching. Teaching is what colleges and universities do; learning is what people do — two very different notions. Although it seems obvious, in most institutions one cannot get credit for learning, only for being taught.

The fifth function is the evaluation of academic progress. Currently, faculty teach students and then they testify that the students have learned something. A grade is awarded, which goes on a transcript, which accumulates to a degree, which is certified by the institution. In essence, the institution certifies that many people have made judgments about this person, evaluating his or her actions as "progress." If one doesn't want to go through that process but just wants to have his or her academic progress evaluated, you can predict the answer: "Can't do it."

Finally there is the sixth function of certification. What really counts in this society is one purple stamp, whether it is from the USDA or Harvard. It is the purple stamp that signals and sells. How do you get a purple stamp? In education, you get a purple stamp by going through the process. It is as if the Department of Agriculture had to grow all the beef in the United States. However, the Department of Agriculture recognizes that one can just inspect the beef. Well, the Regents of New York have recognized that they can inspect beef, and they do just that — by awarding the Regents' External Degree. The state of New Jersey has realized it can too — so Thomas Alva Edison College gives an external degree. Who is certifying what, and whether the service is available remain critical questions.

These are examples of unbundling the functions of education. A variety of means might be used to provide each of these functions. When one examines providing these educational functions a new way, I would be surprised if the notion of putting them all together, locating them on a particular campus, and making them available only to people who would agree to commit 2 to 4 years of their lives in full-time study would be the most effective way of doing it. There are a variety of means currently available for providing these functions, including assessment centers, contract learning, credits for on-the-job and other learning, counseling centers, credit banks, external degrees, and a variety of other means that are part of a growing educational infrastructure.

State Coordination

Obviously, the unbundling alternative raises an important issue of state coordination. In states where separate functions have emerged or where the early signs of them have occurred, state coordination and state initiative have been very strong. To be successful, some element of the state needs to have the authority for the construction and maintenance of the infrastruc-

ture. Probably no state has a stronger department of education than the state of New York, and this is where many of these alternatives were first implemented in the United States. It is important to recognize that each of these functions should be required to be financially self-supporting. When this is done, they can then tap into a much broader clientele than that which would have been traditionally a part of a full-time, 2 or 4-year academic degree credit program.

Possible Consequences

When I reflect upon these possible futures, there are a number of implications to me. Primarily, perpetuation of the status quo into the future is basically unacceptable for a number of reasons. First, state support for postsecondary education has essentially followed the average cost of instruction in an enrollment and cost-driven financing system in most states. When institutions are growing, an average cost basis of support more than covers their marginal cost of expansion and the additional revenue is often the margin of quality for an institution. This is very desirable from the institution's point of view and I think it is also desirable from the state's point of view. When institutions are contracting in size (and in terms of the criterion traditionally used for state support, schools will be contracting in a near future), cutting down the average cost relationship is most difficult. If one less person sits in a classroom, the cost of operating the class does not decrease. It is only by substantial decreases in faculty and programatic support that we are able to come down the average cost curve, often with the effect of setting up a very negative dynamic with an institution. Also, using previous cost as a basis of support creates a tremendous incentive for efficiency, as anyone who has been part of a government agency in the last month of a fiscal year knows. In public institutions, the funds that go unexpended from one year to the next rarely can be carried forward. The usual reward for being efficient is that you have then a higher work load, or lower budget for the next year.

Reduced real state support (in constant dollars), in the next decade is very likely and is already happening in some states. This is going to create a number of rigidities within institutions that we may not fully anticipate at this time. Collective bargaining units negotiate with the legislature and in a couple of other cases directly with the governor, because those are the only people who can make a binding promise of financial support. What that means is that all of the established governance structures that have been set up will not be applied to about two-thirds of the total cost, personnel. Consequently, governance structures will spend hours debating the consumables budget, faculty travel, administrative travel, and the purchase of computers. I think that that is very undesirable. The concerns of matching academic priorities to the needs of the state, to the resources required is a critical nexus. That nexus has been lost in states that have vigorous collective bargaining and I think that it will be lost in most of those that collectively organize.

The usual treatment of student fees is another reason why the status quo is unacceptable. Most states either have raised or will soon be considering an increase in their student fees. For those states in which student tuition is offset against state appropriations, there is no institutional incentive for raising fees. It does not generate discretionary funds to the institution. In periods of stringent resources, it might buy a little short-term political good will. Setting tuition is essentially a negotiation of the share of the cost each participant should pay. This means that there is likely to continue to be a lack of incentive on the part either of the legislature and the executive branch on the one hand or on the part of the institution on the other hand for any kind of realistic pricing in higher education. As we now establish tuition and fees there is no incentive for realistic prices.

The status quo will continue to include pressures for coordination and efficiency that probably will lead administrations to consolidate programs' coordination and will eliminate duplication and wasteful inefficiency. This sounds like a planner's litany. One of the things we lose sight of is that most academic programs are not capital intensive. The cost of most academic programs is almost completely variable, and in those programs competition is about the only way to have a program of adequate magnitude and quality of service provided for the people. Limiting competition is something that most suppliers are interested in — that is, how to protect one's market share. However, restricting competition is one of the last things most consumers are interested in. Therefore, one of the things that I believe state policy makers need to be sensitive to is the difference between coordination and efficiency; they are *not* the same thing.

The major opportunities for creative state action are found in other alternatives. It is going to be easier in the next 3 to 5 years to make decisions that depart from the status quo than it will be in the following decade. It is always possible to reach new decisions, but we are in a time when, as difficult as it may be to face up to tough priority, personnel, and programmatic decisions, it is going to be a relatively more difficult task after it becomes clear to other actors that there is no flexibility in the system.

Institutional Challenges

I see four major challenges for institutions of postsecondary education and several major challenges for states. For institutions to choose among the policy alternatives they face, I believe they must deal with the following. First, institutions must develop an acceptable set of criteria for evaluating personnel. There are a few notable exceptions, but in general there are very few operational criteria for retention, promotion, or nonrenewal of contract or for dismissal. Retrenchment is the most severe challenge to governance quality and to program initiative and faculty morale that colleges will face. Arbitrary, capricious, and unreasonable retrenchment is the easiest way to destroy the soul of an institution.

The second major challenge for institutions is to establish very clear priorities among educational programs. The multiversity and comprehensive colleges are ideas of the 1960s, many of which cannot be afforded today. Institutions will have to decide what they want to be particularly good at. The current conglomerates undoubtedly will continue to exist because they are there, but the choices at the margin are going to have to be defined much more clearly and carefully. The third challenge is the continuing emphasis on effective and efficient management. Institutional leadership and management is a very serious endeavor and should be taken on with continuing interest, concern, and vigor. The fourth challenge is demonstrable evidence of accountable use of resources. The public expects evidence that is much more articulate and much more visible than currently is the case.

The challenges that I see for state government, and the concerns that I would like to close with, are the following. States should separate their concerns and responsibilities for supporting postsecondary education from institutional survival. We are really caught up in the "Lockheed syndrome." States have to decide whether they are in the business of supporting institutions or whether they are in the business of providing education. The two may be quite different.

There is also the question of dealing with educational suppliers on a fee-for-service basis, that is, to purchase functions separately and distribute these services through self-supporting mechanisms responsive to student decisions. This has been the strategy for continuing education. It is the model for much of professional education. It is where the expansion in the public sector is likely to occur. States should have a creative policy toward this fee-for-services strategy.

Philosophically, I believe we should make the maximum number of options available to people seeking postsecondary education. Thus, the third challenge is to be careful that the cult of efficiency does not lead to elimination of all duplicating programs; I believe duplicating self-sufficient programs may well increase service and efficiency. We should coordinate less and compete more in areas that are not highly capital intensive. Concurrently, I believe we should collect and disseminate valid consumer information so that adults can take best advantage of available options.

Finally, and perhaps profoundly, I believe we should see ourselves in the learning business rather than the teaching business. We should be asking, What aspects and functions of learning should be formalized? What quantities will be consumed by individuals paying the respective prices? and What is our rationale for public support in terms of the quality or the variety of services provided or the distribution of the recipients?

Today, Tomorrow, and the Day After: Higher Education in the 1980s

Dr. Malcolm Moos
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Presider: Sen. Saiki, Hawaii

All of us are weary of the word "crisis" — the economic crisis, the leadership crisis, the energy crisis, the population crisis, the hunger crisis, the spiritual crisis, and so on. Remember, crisis is only the Greek word for "decision." In a similar way, the English definition calls crisis a "turning point" at which things unfold and are resolved for "better or worse." Therefore, the education crisis, if properly understood, can be turned into an opportunity instead of a peril.

What are the decisions that we must make in higher education — today, tomorrow, and the day after?

Today

In the current climate of economic uncertainty — replete with recession, unemployment, and renewed inflation — the difficult decisions involve finances. Smaller private higher educational institutions are battling to survive. Even large universities with generous public support are having difficulty meeting rapidly rising operational costs and providing faculty and staff with adequate pay increases to compensate them for the effects of inflation, which has substantially decreased their real income during the past two years.

A related issue is determining how to structure our educational activities within states, regions, and the nation to make fullest and wisest use of available resources. Clearly, gains both in savings and in ultimate enhancement of academic quality will be realized through cooperation and the coordination of educational programming at all levels. State educational structures, however, often exemplify a confusing proliferation of review boards, coordinating commissions, and consolidated "superboards." At this point, no one is certain which arrangements are best, although most of us have our own biases. A few factors, however, are clear:

1. No single solution can be applied to every state. Different situations will require different responses.
2. The worst policy would be one that repositions public and private institutions in more hostile confrontation.
3. An important difference exists between structures that control and structures that coordinate.
4. Structures that attempt to control carry with them a greater chance of bureaucracy, one of the dominant maladies afflicting our present society.

This last point is central and deserves fuller examination. An article in a recent MIT publication offered the observation that, if the downfall of our society occurs, it will be through death by extreme accountability. Such a possibility reflects the economist Schumpeter's thesis that the gradual suffocating effect of controls will smother innovators. Perhaps this theory may sound politically conservative in tone but Schum-

peter was a Marxist! So when the same kind of observation comes from opposite ends of the political spectrum, it may be a sign that the concept is important.

Universities and colleges, like governments, have vast layers of doers and obstructers. Their executives have little authority to invent or innovate; already they are dangerously close to being overcontrolled. But at a time when we should decentralize, we continue, instead, to spin superwebs of superboards. Because of the growth in higher education in the 1960s, the 1970s confront us with the need for coordination, but some educators have become bewitched by the illusive lure of a master plan. I fear that, 25 years hence, we will look back on evidence of our future to succeed with overcontrols and supersystems. For each time we create a new level in a structure, a statistical blizzard of information is created that more often than not impedes, rather than aids, the decision-making process.

One final point in this regard. It might be fair to say that almost all our institutions have hit the highest point in the process of centralization. Now power is flowing from the federal government back to the states and local governments. Similarly, corporations have recognized the need to create decentralized structures to keep decision-making power close to those directly affected.

I think the answer must lie in the distinction I drew previously between coordination and control. Rather than setting up new boards to control higher education, we should be emphasizing boards that can coordinate. At least an attempt to first solve the problems of educational planning and resource allocation by coordination should be made. If that fails, then there is recourse to the superboard.

In speaking with a distinguished Minnesota friend who served more than 20 years in the Minnesota State Legislature, I was reminded that legislatures sometimes create structures — commissions, coordinating bodies, and the like — that no one really expects to work. He also said quite emphatically that legislatures and legislators must realize they themselves cannot do the job and that the responsibility must be delegated.

If coordination is to work it will require two important things:

First, the coordinating body must be adequately funded to attract capable staff in the numbers necessary to study the emerging issues of educational development. Far too often, attempts to coordinate fail because of inadequate staff resources. Do not forget that, in public education as well as in government, that which governs or controls least governs best.

Second, but equally important, coordination will work only if coupled with cooperation. Individual systems and institutions must be willing to surrender part of their autonomy in order to retain the remainder. Education systems face the same choice that industry faces: either voluntary self-regulation or regulation from without. Experience tells us that regulatory agencies do not work too well. They drown both themselves and the objects of their regulation in a sea of bureaucracy. Those who argue against government regulation must be prepared — as I am — to criticize individual institutions for not cooperating. I think — but perhaps I am too much an optimist in this regard — that we are seeing encouraging signs. Educators everywhere are mindful of the press on financial resources in their states from competing social needs, and in general they show a growing willingness to resist entrenched self-interest and kingdom building. Here, WICHE deserves special credit, for it has broken new ground and has helped further the understanding that every institution cannot be all things to all people — in fact, it may not be possible to be some things to some people. So the time is ripe for an attempt to meet and plan for educational needs through some sort of coordinating structure. Such attempts can and will work, if given adequate time and resources; to do so is to avoid adding yet another layer of bureaucratic control over the lives of people and institutions.

The other siren call for all educational institutions is that of cost control. Recent budget cuts at some institutions have renewed student protests and heightened faculty concern. While the current economic decline has sent many back to school and kept others there longer than they had planned, enrollments at many private institutions are still decreasing, and the total number of college-age students will dramatically decline. And enrollment-related cost increases will continue for some time unless basic patterns of college attendance change. It is a vicious circle of rising costs and declining enrollment, declining enrollments and higher costs on a per capita basis.

The financial problems facing colleges and universities exist because of some basic economic factors. Education, a labor-intensive service activity with no known way to increase productivity other than to increase class size and teaching loads, has been hit especially hard by inflation. This is because the real effect of inflation is measured by the rate of inflation minus the productivity increases that offset it. And since educational institutions rarely achieve such offsets, they feel the full brunt of any inflationary storm.

In terms of the traditional student, educational institutions have reached and passed their peak numbers. They also have reached their peaks in terms of

physical growth. It is unlikely that further economies of scale are possible in education. Any cost decreases in the future will probably come from technological applications to the learning process of computers, film, television, and possibly even biofeedback to heighten learner receptivity.

Before such innovations decrease the costs, however, first it is likely that they will increase them. Thus, education's financial problems are here to stay, and, until a general reordering of social priorities occurs throughout the world (i.e., fewer guns and more butter and books), the problems of educational finance will intensify.

The phenomenon of having reached limits, of standing at the end of an era, is hardly unique to educational institutions. Today we hear much about the limits of growth. We know that the economy cannot continue to grow exponentially. We know the need for stabilizing population growth. What we are experiencing very broadly is the concept of limits. We have reached a point where trade-offs must be made; limits are being reached everywhere. I believe that one of the most important trends that will be arrested and then reversed is that of centralization — centralization of power, of people, and of educational opportunity. There is also going to be a reversal of the trend toward specialization. Hyperspecialization, the supersystem that produced the superspecialist, has led to the glorification of "experitocracy" both in government and in academia.

I have often spoken of the development of the "communiversity," a term I coined to indicate the need to commingle the university and the community into one entity. The university should not just go to the people; it must become a part of the community and the community a part of it. The communiversity should be a place where there is a partnership in learning and teaching, and where shared aspirations and goals are articulated and then realized. *The communiversity will deal in dream time as well as real time.* The multiuniversity must be disaggregated in favor of the communiversity.

This view is not widely held in the academic community. In fact, when I was at the Ford Foundation, a well-known educator was asked if his school would appoint an urban sociologist if the Ford Foundation would endow it. He replied that this would be like putting the name "horse" before the "doctor," then snorted, "A university shouldn't be involved in the community." The academic ghetto is alive and well . . . but it must become a thing of the past.

There are practical and compelling reasons for developing the communiversity more fully. With the onset of the energy crisis, it has become increasingly more apparent that the centralized campus is a waste of both energy and time. Instead of continuing and even accelerating the development of the supersystem, higher education should be developing subsystems. They must be decentralized for maximum access and energy savings; they must be small centers for maximum personal involvement.

Sam May, the distinguished Dean of Forestry at the University of Michigan, repeatedly brought up a word when I was working with Laurence Rockefeller, Chairman of the Outdoor Recreational Resources Commission, that the true mission was not to recreate, but to re-create. We need to re-create truly academic communities.

I have always believed that a college or university does not operate in a vacuum apart from society. Campuses may be remote, but they are never removed from society; they may stand apart, but they are still *a part of* society. This is important because to best understand higher education, we must understand some of the broad developments that are occurring in our world. The university is often a microcosm mirroring the malaise of our society. I think this has been especially true since the 1960s when higher education began its move toward universality, and as the notion of education for the elite was eclipsed.

Had we looked at other institutions as we began building our supersystems, we might have avoided some of the problems we now face. For example, the city: by the early 1960s it was evident that the cities were in trouble. Physically, they were deteriorating, socially they were debilitating, spiritually they were demoralizing; also, they had grown so large that they were ungovernable. There was an epidemic of alienation and anxiety due, in large part, to the fact that individuals had lost their sense of individual importance. The smaller ethnic communities that had existed in many cities for years were breaking up, as second- and third-generation immigrants saw themselves more as Americans than as any other nationality.

So what did educational planners do? They built supercampuses to go with the supercities. The result was predictable: an outcry of youthful, determined discontent with the university. What educators and educational institutions had done was to abandon the concept of community. Perhaps the students recognized it first because there were so many of them and because the transient nature of their relationship with the institution gave them few roots and fewer acquaintances. But it also had an effect on the faculty in large institutions. In abandoning the community, communication had also been abandoned; lost was the idea of the community of scholars. Development of academic

professionalism, with more loyalty for the discipline than for the individual institution, also was accelerated, with many negative consequences.

For large public institutions, then, dimension is a part of the problem. Universities, like cities, have grown so large they are ungovernable. They must arrest and then reverse the process toward centralization. To reestablish a sense of community, we are going to have to decentralize the educational and political processes in our society. For in order to govern a city or a university (or a nation) there must be some common and cohesive thread of unity; there must be shared goals and objectives. When these are no longer present, there is no longer a community but simply a collection of individuals — frequently pulling in different directions. At that point, leadership becomes virtually impossible. Hence the widespread crisis in leadership in America today.

Tomorrow

There are other important emerging developments that may affect education profoundly as we look beyond the current situation toward the "Day After." Until recently, the educational world assumed the validity of a study by Alan Cartter that predicted a steady decline in enrollment in higher educational institutions during the next two decades, based on the observed decline in the proportion of the college-age population. Recent data, however, show that a dramatic decline in enrollments can be accurate only if the school-attending patterns of the past continue into the future. With a sharp climb toward an aging population, there is every reason to anticipate an increasing number of people will turn to higher education. If higher education becomes "relevant" to the needs of a postindustrial society, students who dropped out protesting "irrelevance" may return. By then, however, they will be in their thirties or beyond, and their needs will be quite different.

Even further, computer-derived technological unemployment may increase. Economic depression may become endemic. New forms of income distribution may be adopted. The work week may become further shortened, contributing to an increased demand for education. If so, the continuing education and adult education movements would expand sharply. These movements have been growing at extremely rapid rates during the past few years, and there is every indication that older and underemployed people will patronize educational institutions at increasing rates in the future. Finally, and perhaps most important, the democratization of the acquisition of higher education may continue as universal access becomes a reality rather than a dream.

If we find ourselves confronted with a greatly increased demand for higher education, as well as new alternatives, it will be a demand for which we are totally unprepared. Higher education may have to acquire many of the characteristics now associated with adult or continuing education. This means that colleges and universities would need to be redesigned for learning environments suitable for a much wider demographic range and variability of learning styles. In fact, the collegiate profile of the future may not differ significantly from that of the adult population in general, with adolescents in a distinct minority.

In addition, future educational courses may exhibit a considerable shift in emphasis. The educational content of the past not only was relat d to the occupational aspirations of students, it also followed an implicit pattern derived from the physical sciences. That is, it directed attention to the nature of the outside world; it converted its objects of study into objects themselves. As the hegemony of the newly developing biological sciences has asserted itself, we have seen a gradual shift in emphasis away from the view that the world and its components are objects. The emerging view emphasizes the wholeness and interconnectedness, the organic nature of life.

Whether or not people on their own initiative would persevere in lifelong cultural enrichment programs is another question. The wisdom of the great philosophers teaches that innate in the human being is the will to learn. Therefore, we are compelled for several reasons to seek educational techniques and institutional arrangements that promise to foster and reinforce the average citizen's will to learn.

Concurrent with these developments, I see continued growth in vocational-technical training. Already it is apparent that individuals, with longer life spans, must change jobs two or three times during their lives. This means educational centers will be needed for "retooling" — community-based centers where new skills and knowledge could be acquired or where greater depth and understanding could be obtained regarding one's current field. The vocational-technical schools of the future will have to offer more service-related skills. We are going to have to train grandmothers to run day care centers; we are going to have to develop and train paramedical workers, educational assistants, and legal aides.

Internally, educational institutions face equally pressing concerns. Above all, is there the need to find some way of improving educational productivity? Further, can these be used in ways that do not further impersonalize the teaching process? Can physical plants be used more effectively by shifting to year-round oper-

ation? Can "experiential" education be evaluated and credits and even degrees granted through certification of competence? This is important because there is substantial evidence that experiential education costs less. Can room be made for younger faculty at lower salaries by creating better retirement programs that would encourage earlier retirement? Can more use be made of credit by examination? Can new teaching-oriented degrees be developed that would eliminate the research-oriented aspects of the Ph.D. degree?

Of major internal importance is the question of tenure. While I am not among those who suggest that it should be abandoned altogether, I think some reform is in order. There is certainly one very important presumption that ought to be rebutted — that a Ph.D. from a prestigious institution practically assures lifelong job security, presumably with a steady climb through academic rank. This guarantee does not exist in any other profession — why in academe?

The increased desire for participation within the university in all decision-making processes has resulted in constant negotiation. While I am in accord with the general principle of broad participation, participation does contribute further to the paralysis of the executive. The desire to deposit more and more control in a pluralistic way throughout our institutions may prove to be masking an anti-leadership syndrome. Because of reaction against the Imperial Presidency after Watergate, we may overreact and seek to overcontrol all executives when in fact some suffer not from too much power, but too little. Another problem with the push for participation is that it costs a great deal. Hours are spent in committee meetings, and some faculty, I suspect, spend almost as much time in committee meetings as in class. This must be considered an important factor at a time when educational costs are so high that many students are being priced out of school.

None of these observations argues against development of democratic models of governance at universities. I am saying that the size and complexity of many educational institutions makes democracy too difficult and expensive to be practical. I am not suggesting that we abandon it, but that we take up decentralization, making it more meaningful. I am also saying that college and university presidents must be free to make certain decisions if they are to have any real role at all.

So much for the ideal. What about the real? The reality is that our civilization may be in the process of disintegration and decay. The reality is that we spent 15 years and $150 billion on a war in Southeast Asia, yet during much of that time aid to education decreased and thousands of students dropped out of school because of lack of financial resources. It seems to me that with the end of that war and the end of the Watergate debacle, our society is perhaps moving at last toward a fundamental reassessment of its purposes and priorities. And ahead there may be more room for education.

I believe (contrary to the basic tenets of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education in respect to educational costs) it is possible that education in the future will absorb an even greater percentage of our gross national product (GNP). While the percentage of the GNP put into higher education in 1974 declined from 2.2 to 2.1 percent (after a climb from 1.1 to 2.2 percent during the 1960s), I think this may be a temporary aberration and that the overall curve will continue upward. After all, it is not only a question of what will happen but also a question of what should happen. That implies a moral judgment, and increasingly more of the critical questions we face involve such judgments. It is no longer a question of description but prescription. Our democratic systems are in crises; education could play a major role in their resolution.

Recently there has been an intense debate among political scientists regarding the importance of large voter turnouts. One segment believes that increasing participation on the part of ignorant or uninformed voters simply reinforces the irrational and the unstable forces in society, hence voter apathy is good. The other argues that since we are committed to the idea of participational democracy, everyone should be encouraged to take part in public affairs. Otherwise, the freedoms we enjoy become a myth and self-government a farce.

Perhaps this reveals that the exercise of citizenship is too important to be left to the political scientists. The fact is that they reflect the specialized character of the institutions we have established to foster the profession of citizenship. Academic institutions themselves are highly specialized, they encourage a narrow human response, and they tend to reward brilliance and brilliance alone. We push students too quickly into narrow fields of academic specialization. Now I realize that specialization has its place and that it is very necessary. However, we have been overcome by data. A liberal education, to be sure, must deal in knowledge, and to the extent that any educator can impart it, it must deal in wisdom.

The Day After

The crucial problem we face in this last quarter of the twentieth century may well be the failure of our civic mind — and its proper nurture is vital. Thomas Jefferson was surely right: our civic order depends upon two factors — institutions to facilitate direct par-

ticipation of the people in decisions that affect their lives, and sufficiently high universal access to education so that the people can contribute creatively to the solution of their own problems. We are failing on both scores. And we cannot solve the first problem until we have remedied the second. In Jefferson's time a primary school education sufficed to permit people to understand the issues that required political resolution. Today, nothing less than the equivalent of a college education is mandatory for all. We need to understand new lessons about a new world and *all* of us need to understand them. All facets of the new world must be utilized to create a true learning society that emphasizes full use of the human potential. Otherwise, constitutional democracy is doomed.

In spite of the many difficulties of recent years, I remain optimistic. Recently, I thought of the importance of the intervention of historical consciousness — America as a nation has not been particularly aware of its history. The Bicentennial could not have come at a more propitious moment, for as we look back on 200 years of history, I think we will rededicate ourselves to the ideals that inspired the American Revolution and our Constitution.

Education, too, must reevaluate and rededicate itself. Daniel Coit Gilman, the first great president of Johns Hopkins University, was an architect of true graduate education in the United States, and was as much concerned about how we feel and what we do as with what we know. In his now-forgotten inaugural address at Hopkins, he advised us to apply intellectual activity to the everyday needs of the community:

"What is the significance of all this activity?" he asked of the university community. "It is a craving for intellectual and moral growth. It is a longing to interpret the laws of creation. It means a wish for less misery among the poor, less ignorance in the schools, less bigotry in the temple, less suffering in the hospital, less fraud in business, less folly in politics; it means more study of nature and more love of art, more lessons from history, more security in property, more health in cities, more virtue in country, more wisdom in legislatures, more intelligence, more happiness, more religion."

I do not think our country nor our educational institutions have strayed too far from their proper paths to return. Yet, in order for leaders to lead, we need a fundamental reassessment, to develop common objectives and shared dreams. Gilman's inaugural address, written 100 years ago, still seems close to the mark, close to the communiversity.

Ivory Tower Dues: Institutional Responsibility to the State

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Presider: Rep. Swisher, Idaho

In communicating some personal observations on education and accountability, I must emphasize that accountability is not confined to news releases or publications or to compilation of data, but more often is composed of daily personal contacts.

Three years ago I had a very moving experience, literally; one in which I traveled better than 100,000 miles, making 13 circuitous trips around the state of Idaho. I was granted a leave of absence for six months (without pay) and ran for the U.S. Senate on the Democratic ticket. I learned a lot of humility. I lost. I was reminded of the time when I was head football coach at the University of Colorado. After we were defeated by Oklahoma 63 to 0, the president called me in the following Monday and asked me what I had to say about the score. I replied, "Thank God we were up for the game!"

But it is a rich and rewarding experience to travel one's state, to walk the streets and visit the shops and stores in each community — to go deep into the mines, into the sawmills, out to the farms and ranches — to get to know the people at their work. Most memorable are those personal contacts with more than 100,000 citizens of one's state — seeing the lines of care in their faces, shaking their hands, hearing their concerns. Such an experience rekindles one's faith in the basic strength and character of Americans: their idealism, their common sense, and their fundamental dedication and love for one another and this nation. It strengthens the belief that hope for ourselves and our posterity lies not in crusades of suspicion, but in renewed confidence in one another. As the late John F. Kennedy said, "However grim the outlook, however harsh the task, the one great irreversible trend in the history of mankind is on the side of liberty."

Within this context, I returned to my job as president of Idaho State University with a new sense of mission — and also a sense of omission. I was haunted by the fact that I was not working hard enough at what should be a primary goal: the humanizing and personalizing of an important position of leadership in my state and community.

On campuses, we do a lot of talking to each other. Hot academic topics now relate to academic freedom, tenure, quotas on faculty rank, collective bargaining, job security, salaries, due process, faculty governance, workloads, full-time equivalents, budget formulas — all familiar conversation pieces in the academic world — all important in the academic world. But how does this affect the person on the street, on the farm, or in the legislature?

I found that out there in the hustings, when addressing a grange meeting or the National Farm Organization for example, you are plowing sticky ground when you mention the subject of faculty tenure. Take the guy working six months of the year chopping and hauling logs up in the lumber country — he would sure like to hear more about a lifetime appointment. So would the farmer sweating out the digging of his

potatoes before the frost rots them, or the farmer who has just seen his wheat crop leveled by hail. They would like to know more about job security, and if it is being pas d around, they would like some!

And salaries: that is another topic that interests them. All of those tables that show how underpaid the faculty are at their state universities compared with those at Harvard or Michigan probably keep them awake nights.

And working hours: When he rides that tractor in the predawn darkness, the farmer must surely chuckle about that budget request to the legislature to reduce the faculty course load at the state university from 10 hours to 9. And all that about professors using the rest of their time for scholarly activities and advising students; the farmer takes a dim view of that, especially if his kid just came home from college, griping about the fact he could never find his major professor.

These are skeptical, questioning people, and, lest I exaggerate, these people elect the legislators. In many cases, these people *are* the legislators.

One state senator, a farmer in Idaho, once vented his frustrations to me, saying, "We've had a 300 percent increase in state funding of public education the past five years and substantial increases in higher education budgets. Just once I would like to know what we're doing with all this money other than raising salaries for the same teachers. I'd like to know in what ways we are raising the quality of education in our schools."

Closer to home in academe, I have found that faculty members can wax eloquent on the limits to growth in the world, but when it comes to applying the concept of limits to growth within their own academic departments, faculty members can become as vague as an Indian guru.

For example, a couple of years ago I requested that each of the departments within my university examine the institution's goals and missions and outline the steps necessary to implement these objectives. Imagine my frustration when I was told that these objectives could be reached by a modest 50 percent increase in the academic operating budget.

Looking at an era of a leveling off or actual decrease in enrollments, spiraling inflation costs, and legislators casting wary and skeptical glances on cost accounting at every level, it seems only logical that we in academic life must ask the question, How do we make the best use of the resources already at hand?

Within each institution or academic program there are ways of improving the quality of education that would not cost anything extra. These are the changes that involve personal attitudes — *a dedication to doing our best* with the resources at hand.

In education, perhaps the secret to success is the ability to motivate, to get a total effort — first from oneself, and then from those one is expected to lead.

The principle applies even to our nation's presidents. The late Harry Truman, when asked about the powers of the President, once replied: "About the biggest power the President has . . . is the power to persuade people to do what they ought to do without having to be persuaded." This would apply to college presidents. It would apply to all teachers — the power to persuade, the power to motivate.

Accountability in education begins with the relationship between the teacher and the student — the transmitting of that feeling that someone really cares.

I am reminded of a recent sensitive television advertisement by the American Motors Company. It shows a young Black girl, driving her new car, and talking about the dealer who sold her the car. She closes by saying, "He really likes me — as a person." Can we afford to do less in education than to convey that message as strongly as possible to each of our students? — "We really like you — as a person. We care."

In Merle Miller's brilliant book on Harry Truman, *Plain Speaking*, Miller admitted he approached his first interview with Truman with considerable apprehension. Thus, he was delighted and surprised to find that Truman had done *his* homework — that Truman had taken the trouble to study the background of Miller and had read a couple of his books. To Miller, it was impressive that Truman had taken the time and the effort to care about him, as a person.

As educators, we must ask ourselves how often faculty members take the time and trouble to study the students who populate their classrooms or even the ones with whom they will be working the most closely as majors?

In the sum total of a semester, would it be possible for professors to interview their students, meet them as people, find out where they are from, where they are going, and learn what turns them on? Maybe they could even find out if the students are bright and educable, and how they are reacting to the instruction while there is still time enough to succeed.

How much waste is there, particularly in the freshman year, of students who have the potential to succeed but who somehow are never reached in classes where the material and the standards are presented on a swim-or-sink basis — and only those who can already swim survive?

As college professors, teachers, and educators, generally we represent the successes in academic life. Which one of us cannot name at least one great teacher who has had a profound influence on our individual lives, even on our choice of a profession? Are such models less important now? With all the mechanization of modern life, I believe that this human relationship between teacher and student is something that cannot be computerized. Young students still need models worthy of emulating — examples of what a man or a woman at the best might be. In the academic world, this calls for men and women with high professional standards and dedication blended with those great human qualities of compassion, wisdom, humor — the ability to care and care deeply.

As educators, we *can* look around and identify such persons in our ranks. Admittedly, we do have people on each of our campuses who do the minimum, those who teach their 9 or 12 contact hours and disappear. But by far the great majority are those who work the extra hours, who know their students individually and who care enough to go the extra mile. This is the highest type of accountability. I wish we could recognize it more often and reward it better. Perhaps together we can find a way. We can begin by placing this type of teaching high on our individual priorities.

In spite of the trends away from *in loco parentis*, I am old-fashioned enough to believe that in our schools we still have an accountability to parents. Perhaps I am speaking as a parent, but after 18 years of intimate caring on a day-to-day basis and paying the bills for orthodontists, ophthalmologists, pediatricians, piano teachers, and the assorted obligations one assumes with parenthood, I am just not ready to ship my daughter off to college and say, "Take her. She's mine." What with her total commitment to campus life and lack of time to write letters home, I appreciate any little communication or clue as to how she might be faring.

Some professors do take the time to communicate to parents. Sometimes it is just a friendly note calling attention to some special effort or accomplishment; sometimes, it is just a greeting like, "I'm glad to have your daughter in class." Or it might be calling attention to a special problem.

At Idaho State there was an unusual dean of business. When he traveled about the state, he made a point of taking with him a list of the students from the town he was visiting, plus the names of any prospective recruits. When in that town, he sat down for an hour or so and called parents, or, on occasion, went to their homes: "Hi, I'm Dean Kelly, from ISU. Your daughter is one of our students. I just wanted to meet you." He got a lot of free coffee that way. And enrollment in the College of Business kept zooming.

Of course, each person has to budget his own time and own style for such an approach. But it only takes a little time — time enough to care — (and the rewards can be far-reaching) for the faculty member, for the family, for the institution.

Too often we pay the least attention to a constituency that can go a long way in public credibility — namely our own townspeople. Many educational institutions are in relatively small towns where it requires no great effort to get acquainted. In the West, even the "big" towns have "small"-town characteristics. Where there are mutual understanding and first-name relationships, there should be no town-and-gown friction.

It is a small task to walk the streets when new in town or at the start of a semester just to shake hands with the merchants and introduce yourself, let them know who you are, and what you do. Let them see you not as another monk up in that ivory tower, but as one member of the community. We can shatter the alleged aloofness. Be friendly. Let them know that we care — the word gets around.

With local and regional legislators, it is important to get to know them when there is the chance. When on business in other parts of the state, a person can give the legislators in that area a call and talk about programs and about students. Often, legislators not in session can be invited to visit on campus — to attend a departmental meeting, if possible. (Few refuse such an invitation or opportunity to know a program in greater depth). In many states, the total budgets for public school and higher education often exceed half the total state tax expenditures. Education is everyone's business, and particularly theirs.

If one desires a model for this type of effective accountability, he can take a good look at the effective programs of our respective agricultural colleges and their extension and research services. They never miss a chance to acquaint a legislator with what they are doing and what they need to do it better.

Thus far, I have focused on the accountability on the part of educators. But I also think there are some things to be said about a need for accountability on the part of legislators.

Living in several western states, I have often heard muted grumbling about "cowboy" legislatures, referring to representation from the rural areas of the states. But there is an old saying in our mountain states, "No one reveres culture like a western cowboy."

This hunger for education and culture has been one of the great traditions of the West, well described by Henry Ward Beecher in speaking of the western immigrants. In 1859 he wrote,

> They drive schools along with them, as shepherds drive flocks. They have herds of churches, academies, lyceums; and their religious and educational institutions go lowing along the western plains as Jacob's herds lowed along the Syrian Hills.

Often, under great hardship, handicap, and sacrifice — indeed, with an appetite whetted by deprivation — our pioneering ancestors created our schools and universities and laid the foundation for many of the great institutions. I think we have the same spirit alive in the West today if we are bold enough and committed enough to move.

Legislators need to know that great universities are not judged by local standards alone, but by what is expected of the best universities, wherever they are.

There are a few great state universities in the West today — institutions that rank with the best in the nation or the world. There is another group that is on the verge of attaining national and international eminence. There are many institutions in several of the sparsely populated western states whose missions do not include reputations as prestigious multipurpose universities with internationally renowned scholars, libraries, and research programs, but who nonetheless can achieve a high level of excellence in the quality of teaching and having a more limited research expectation.

In academic circles as in athletics, then, our institutions often participate in different leagues, but there can and should be excellence and fulfillment at all levels.

Within each state, within each college and university, we need to ask the legislators in which league they want us to be. Then, as educators, we can respond, often with considerable accuracy, because the data are available for comparison. We know what it takes to compete in faculty loads, student-faculty ratios, library, salaries, research and graduate commitment, equipment, and facilities.

In many schools, however, there are major league expectations with minor league budgets. It is a pity, because often states *do* have the resources to move their universities ahead in quantum jumps on a selective basis, if they have the pride and courage and determination to do so. I was in Colorado in the late 1950s and early 1960s when that state made such a decision with the University of Colorado and Colorado State University, so I know it has and can be done.

Too often, however, university presidents return from legislative hearings with the impression that they have been asked the question, What is the least amount of appropriated funds that you can survive on and keep the students and faculty sullen but not mutinous? Someday, I would like a legislator, or, indeed, all of the legislators on a budget and fiscal committee to say, "We want a state university that ranks among the best in the country. What do we have to do to get there?"

As presidents and leaders of educational institutions, we must be prepared with honest and realistic answers.

We must also be accountable in seeing that the appropriated money follows the students and drives the programs, that good research is a wise investment in the future, and that our institutions are sensitive and responsive to the educational needs of the people of our respective states. We must seek that excellence as centers of learning and culture to which the people of our respective states can point with pride and confidence — or, better yet, as centers to which they commit their most precious resource, their sons and daughters. For what parents do not want the best opportunity for their children?

Finally, I would conclude that most problems, including accountability, result from a breakdown in communication — an overworked phrase for not applying a little common sense to human relations.

I know that most problems that I have on my campus have their roots in the fact that for too long a time I have lost touch with one or another of the major constituencies: the students, faculty and staff, board members, people in the community, legislature, or alumni.

I often am frustrated when I do not get the paperwork done every day. But shuffling papers never substituted for talking, or, better yet, listening to people — our constituencies.

People support those things in which they believe. If they lost confidence and quit believing, they often quit paying the bill. The public is not looking for gimickry or gadgetry in education; quite the opposite. Philosophically, the public is quite pragmatic: will it work?

And the chief test of "Will it work?" in education is how successful we are in teaching their sons and daughters. The products speak for themselves when they come home from the school or college, whether they bring with them a sense of failure or high achievement. I have found that students, parents, townspeople, and legislators prefer to talk in terms of human accomplishment rather than in cold statistics. Our greatest accountability is what we do with those resources we have at hand — human lives.

There is an old athletic axiom that the difference between the good and great is a little extra effort. To be a winner you have to be willing to pay a price others are unwilling to pay. In education, we desperately need winners — men and women in positions of leadership who *are* willing to pay the price with that little extra effort.

Theodore Roosevelt summed it up a half-century or more ago when he said,

> In the battle of life it is not the critic who counts, not the man who points out how the strong man stumbled or the doer of the deed could have done better. The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena; whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood; who strives valiantly, who errs and comes short again and again because there is no effort without error and shortcomings; who does actually strive to do the deeds; who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions spends himself in a worthy cause; who at the best knows in the end the triumph of high achievement; and who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that his place shall never be with those timid souls who have never tasted neither victory nor defeat.

We are all in the arena.

Legislation and the Campus: The Relationship of the Political Process to Postsecondary Education – A Plea for Restraint

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It is symptomatic of the relationship between the political process and higher education that some colleagues expressed dismay when I accepted the invitation to address the issue of legislation and the campus. I was told it was a "no win" situation that could only alienate either the California legislature or the California State University and Colleges' Board of Trustees. The truth might indeed make me free!

What is the truth about legislative/educational relationships? Is there as we frequently hear, malicious legislative intrusion? Or is it appropriate legislative behavior? What of higher education? Is higher education a victim of legislative rape? Or a willing rapee? It is time to confront these questions and place them in the perspective of the American political process, a process that leaves ultimate power in the hands of the elected political leaders and the judiciary.

Public higher education is supported by a major portion of state budgets. In California, it amounts to approximately 12.5 percent of the total General Fund budget of $9.4 billion. The California State University and Colleges (SCUC) system alone accounts for $540 million, or 5.7 percent of the total state General Fund budget. The legislature and the executive, as institutions rather than individuals, have not only the right but also the obligation to be involved in higher education; not to be would be dereliction of duty. Yet, we have testified repeatedly before legislative committees that a particular bill represents intrusion into governing board authority. Why is such intrusion bad? Governing boards, for public universities are a peculiarly American institution patterned upon the financially involved nonpolitical lay boards that oversaw the early private universities. It was almost an article of faith that public boards, whose members served long terms, would establish policy for the university without partisan influence and thus avoid the creation of European-style ministries of education. That hope is no longer valid.

The functionaries of federal government, fresh from making their often heavy-handed administrative influence felt through the programs of affirmative action, financial aid, health and safety, and postaudit review, talk of federal accreditation standards in the name of ill-defined consumerism and quality control. Not content with policy goals, they become involved in intimate details of administration. A federal ministry of education may be the next simple, indeed even obvious, step. It would consolidate what is now being done and would be justified initially as being the most "efficient way."

The courts, stretching constitutional due process far beyond its original intent, are not far distant as champions of consumerism and a vague social justice. (I would recommend that the next WICHE conference be devoted to the increasing educational-administrative role of the courts.)

All legislators, if asked, would reaffirm their personal desire to avoid political intrusion into a board's governance role. How, then, does it happen?

The basic constituencies of a campus — faculty, students, and staff — are all well organized and represent important statewide, and frequently competitive, political forces seeking increased membership and power. They are not to be ignored by a sensitive legislator. In this, they are no different than other well-

organized, articulate groups within the political process. They have lobbyists, make political donations, give or withhold votes, and influence other publics. But they are different from most other pressure groups in that the first locus of power with which they must contend is the governing board. Appointed for long terms, usually not subject to voter pressure, forbidden to accept donations, the boards tend to be independent and less subject to direct political pressure; therefore, some would call the members inflexible or unresponsive! Just recently in the SCUC, the students, unhappy with the trustees' budget, issued a press release that stated, "Actions like these force the students to take their case to the governor and the California State Legislature. . . ." This relationship can be best conceptualized by thinking of the legislature as an appellate body over the governing boards. Faculty, staff, and student organizations, unable to obtain satisfaction of real or imagined administrative grievances from the board, appeal collectively and individually directly to the legislature — the same legislature to which the boards looks to satisfy its budgetary and other needs. The stage is set for political intrusion!

I have chosen several examples from recent California legislative history to illustrate this process. Although the CSUC has had one of the most elaborate faculty grievance and disciplinary action procedures in the country, faculty dissatisfaction with them became a major systemwide issue. Having failed to achieve their complete goals through the board, a complex process that took several years and involved compromising the conflicting goals of several groups, the faculty found a receptive legislature that in a few months adopted a bill, signed by the governor, that mandated specific grievance and disciplinary action procedures for faculty. This legislative involvement in direct administration has now created still further problems. A similar situation is rapidly developing for staff grievance and disciplinary procedures, and I fully expect the same result. An unusual case? Not at all. In this same recent period, the legislature established an optional work year for librarians; equal athletic programs for men and women; removed trustee control from regulation of student fee-supported student government affairs representatives; added a student to the board; and in the budget itself mandated a nonfunded 1:10 faculty/student ratio for nursing programs.

Such legislative behavior is neither basically evil nor the outcomes inherently wrong, and, in the context of American politics, it is not inappropriate. The legislators are doing exactly what they do best — reacting to constituency pressure. It is, however, highly undesirable behavior. It creates still further problems, usurps the authority of the governing board, eventually weakening it to where its own sense of role may become so diminished as to destroy its effectiveness. Boards of trustees are able to concentrate on the total picture; legislators see only one issue at a time. The trustees are concerned solely with education; the legislators with welfare, highways, parks, and medical malpractice, as well as education. It becomes increasingly easier for groups to appeal to the legislature — for the legislature to act, almost by reflex, and, ultimately, for the board to shirk its responsibilities, rationalizing that the legislature will act in any case. Some campus administrators even now prefer to be told what to do by the legislature rather than compromise through the traditional governance process.

The long-term effects of such political behavior may be to destroy governing boards and permit even more directly partisan legislative acts. The symptoms are already apparent. However, legislators who are pragmatically responding to special interest pressures can be dealt with. Countervailing pressure can be developed or even logic and reason might prevail! Far more dangerous to education are those legislators (there must be at least one in each state) who are determined to substitute their value judgment for that of the board, for they know they are right!

California has been subject to such legislative behavior on an increasing scale lately: legislative intent that students be treated in specified ways; that regional cooperation be given high priority; that certain types of educational innnovation be funded; that faculty personnel files be opened; that campus community advisory boards be subject to open meeting laws; that one style of education be given preference over another; that students and faculty participate in the budget process; that affirmative action positions provided in the budget be used in a mandated way; and that the trustees handle necessary campus retrenchment in certain ways. Not all the above is misguided, but this sampling of directives hardly supports the governing board's role.

A legislator's personal commitment to a set of values; lack of faith in the governing board's judgment; unwillingness to wait while boards slowly change, if indeed change is a good idea in every case; and a powerful role in the legislature all combine to create a situation where legislative intrusion into trustee authority appears both necessary and proper, when in fact it is neither. Avoidance of such legislative intrusion is nearly impossible, for legislators involved have a personal commitment that they must fulfill; they act not as a collective legislative body but as individuals using their positions to meet some personal goal often based on anecdotal knowledge of a single instance of a perceived injustice. Such individuals are, with the best of intentions, potentially dangerous — the educational

goals they seek frequently permit them to justify the destruction of institutions. Flexibility and responsiveness to instantly defined needs become battle cries designed to radically change more fundamentally conservative institutions such as governing boards that are designed to be buffers to excess, to meet a public trust and have a long-term commitment to the institutions they govern.

There is, of course, an appropriate policy role for legislative scrutiny in postsecondary education, and it goes beyond the budget process. The legislature should determine broad public policy questions such as student access, state policy on tuition, state policy on collective bargaining, roles of public segments, and basic organization of postsecondary education.

In California, the legislature created the Postsecondary Education Commission, which was designed to coordinate and advise the separate governing boards and advise the legislature and governor on broad issues of state educational policy. The Commission's predecessor, the Coordinating Council for Higher Education, had not been successful in keeping the political process out of higher education, nor does it appear likely that the present Commission will be any more successful. Why? In part because the legislature, after establishing the new Commission, adopted more than 10 concurrent resolutions telling the new group not only what to do but how to do it! And, in part, because many of the issues in which legislators are interested can be resolved only at the campus or multicampus system level. Thus, the new Commission, rather than being a buffer between the governing boards and legislative direction in postsecondary education — a phenomenon that may be characteristic of all federally mandated commissions, as struggles over federal and state dollars involve private institutions previously exempt from direct legislative influence.

Institutions previously more immune from legislative action (such as private universities and proprietary schools) may now find themselves objects of legislative programs. This is because either they now accept federal and state funds in the naive belief that control will not follow, or because they participate voluntarily in the development of politically influenced state five-year plans and agree to submit to statewide program review and coordination. For example, in California the development of a five-year plan saw brief skirmishes over state support to private universities and the extent to which proprietary school really can be coordinated. Continued desire for state dollars by the private universities and a thirst for reputable status by the proprietaries will bring them further into acceptance of legislative direction; the vehicle will be the statewide commissions' claim to be legislative buffers. The commissions, particularly those whose composition meets federally established standards, are very vulnerable to political direction. Somewhat unsure of their roles, seeking status, trying for influence over powerful educational institutions, the commissions are ripe to act as conduits for political instructions. In California, with 12 of the members appointed (4 by the governor, 4 by the assembly, and 4 by the senate), the potential for political guidance is built in.

Yet, political intrusion does not have to happen. There is a solution. Statutory or constitutional safeguards, as useful as they may be, are not needed. A consensus for restraint is.

The legislature and the executive are clearly the locus of ultimate appeal; and I would, in a democratic society, have it no other way. Yet the politicization of postsecondary education will, if it continues, destroy governing boards and ultimately the university itself.

This is a plea for restraint:

I ask that faculties not run to the legislature to solve their grievances, for at some point those same legislators will collect their due in the form of direct curricula influence.

I ask that the students, with their newly won voting rights and increased political power, not continually seek increased campus control through the political process, for along that road ultimately lies the anarchy of Latin American universities.

I ask that staff not seek countervailing power through the legislative process, for their gains will be short-lived as they become even more like an employee of any other state agency.

I ask that governing boards be more responsive to, or at least respectful of, constituency needs so that the desire to seek legislative relief is mitigated.

I ask that legislators say "no" to particular demands and refer constituents back to the boards.

I ask that legislators restrain their more committed colleagues from imposing their personal values on all, always asking the question, Does it require legislative action? There is an irrepressible desire for legislators to legislate, as there is for professors to profess!

I ask that each group understand and respect the appropriate roles of the others.

I ask all this knowing it will not succeed. The political process is as American as apple pie. . . . Why should education hope to be different?

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